CASE CONCERNING APPLICATION OF THE CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE

(CROATIA v. SERBIA)

COUNTER-MEMORIAL

SUBMITTED BY THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

ANNEXES

Operation Storm

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SECTION IX

Operation Storm

/Evidence/
ANNEX 52

Minutes of the Meeting held by the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, with Military Officials, on 31 July 1995 at Brioni

Source: ICTY, Gotovina et al. case.
RECORDED!

MINUTES

of the meeting held by the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo TUDMAN, with military officials, on 31 July 1995 at Brijuni

The meeting commenced at 1050 hours

PRESIDENT:

Gentlemen, I have called this meeting to assess the current situation and to hear your views before I decide on what our next steps should be in the forthcoming days.

As you know, we were determined to undertake further operations. The Grahovo-Glamoč operation was also designed to have an impact with respect to Bihać and to enable Knin to be surrounded. We were determined to start lifting the blockade of Bihać from the west.

However, the situation as it stands now is that the United Nations representatives, Akashi, Stoltenberg and the Serbs have deprived of us this reason, since they are in the process of withdrawing their forces from the Bihać area. They will not attack and they are allowing UNPROFOR to deploy on those borders as observers. And of course they immediately relayed this news to the whole world. And every military operation must have its political justification.

Accordingly, we no longer have the necessary justification to lift the blockade of Bihać. But it seems that we could take advantage of the favourable political situation in Croatia, the demoralization in the Serbian ranks, the affinity towards us of people in Europe, partly in Europe, of those who are inclined to resolve that crisis to Croatia’s benefit where we have a friend, Germany, which consistently supports us in political discussions, and in NATO as well where there is also understanding for our views. We enjoy the sympathy of the United States, but to a certain extent. If, gentlemen, you will carry out the operation professionally, as you did in Western Slavonia within a few days, and that means three to four days, or a maximum of eight days, then we can count on the fact that will not sustain any political damage, but will instead have scored political points in such a world.

Therefore, it is my opinion that our main objective can no longer be to break through to Bihać. The breakthrough is now only a secondary concern. We would now have to find some kind of an pretext for our actions, for our venture which we can commence according to plan as was the case yesterday, or we can start it tomorrow, or according to yesterday’s plan for tomorrow, or let’s see when we can do it.

But if in the forthcoming days we are to undertake further operations, then Bihać can only serve as some sort of pretext and something of a secondary nature. We must inflict total defeat upon the enemy in the south and north, just so we understand each other, leaving the east aside for the time being.

Why should we leave the east aside? Because even those who are our friends are afraid that all of Yugoslavia will become embroiled in the war, Yugoslavia and Russia, and there might be an all-out war.

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Therefore, we should leave the east totally alone, and resolve the question of the south and north.

In which way do we resolve it? This is the subject of our discussion today. We have to inflict such blows that the Serbs will to all practical purposes disappear, that is to say, the areas we do not take at once must capitulate within a few days.

Therefore, we should reconsider and modify the plan we had envisaged for tomorrow. When I hear your assessments and views, I will make a declaration. But let me repeat, the main task is not to lift the blockade of Mostar, but . . .

(Interjection: Bihać).

I’m thinking of Mostar, because down there they will probably meddle about in that area in order to tie us down and warn us that it we’re going forward, then they too have the possibility of advancing from the Neretva River, from which they will not desist and then on to Dubrovnik.

Therefore our main task is not Bihać, but instead to inflict such powerful blows in several directions that the Serbian forces will no longer be able to recover, but will have to capitulate.

In this respect, we can count on the fact that Yugoslavia will not become directly involved. Last night their government met again in session. They are condemning our aggression and calling upon the international community to ensure the cessation of hostilities and a political dialogue.

You have all probably read my reply to Akashi, haven’t you?

(Interjection: We have.)

Accordingly, as you have seen, it has the nature of an ultimatum. As early as this morning, Stoltenberg came to see ŠARINIĆ and he said that it could be corrected in the manner requested by the President. They propose that we have a meeting with the Knin Serbs in Geneva on Thursday. They are proposing their own delegation which would include Mile NOVAKOVIĆ, that’s their general, their Minister VOJNOVIĆ, MACURA and PRIJEC, and they have urged us that our delegation be led by the head of the Cabinet/ ŠARINIĆ.

I told ŠARINIĆ that in principle we favour negotiations if they accept the conditions I have set out in my reply to Akashi, but that he will not head the delegation if the meeting is held. So we can do that, he will call today, and we can accept this as a mask, that we are accepting the talks, and even designate our own delegation, but let us discuss whether we will undertake an operation tomorrow or in the next few days to liberate the area from Banja to Koruša to Lika and from Dalmatia to Knin, and how to carry this out in three, four or at the very most eight days. Then only some minor enclaves will remain which would be forced to surrender.

Those were my introductory words on the matter. I would like to hear your views. Every one of you will bear responsibility for what we agree to implement and for mutual cooperation, because without extremely co-ordinated cooperation on all theatres, we will be unable to achieve the successful iteration of those areas within a short time. Since I want to be completely clear, I think we should consider deploying these forces from Držovo in this direction for offensive action.

Those were my introductory remarks. Please, gentlemen, present your assessments and proposals with full responsibility, and then we shall adopt a decision on how to implement them.

Admiral Domazet.
Davor DOMAZET:

Mr. President, I will set out the strategic situation with respect to the adversary. I'd then like to provide an outline of a potential operation in keeping with the thesis you have just set out now, since I have been abreast of the entire operation and the course of planning it.

First, I consider that with respect to the enemy as a whole, and in viewing both Bosnia and the occupied parts of Croatia, the current situation is extremely favourable for us to carry out radical operations to liberate occupied Banovina, Lika and Kordun. I base this assertion on the following: the breakthrough to Grahoovo and the action of cutting through /their lines/ resolved one of the four key points. This means that three remain which, at the operative and strategic level, lead to the surrounding of the adversary and his entire operational structure.

Second, the breakthrough has pinned down the already meagre reserve forces at the disposal of the Army of Republika Srpska, that is, in Bosnia, including the unengaged forces in eastern Bosnia.

Since they have set themselves both a political and military goal, to attempt to recover Grahoovo, realising its strategic importance, their main orientation is now towards Grahoovo, both in terms of forces from the occupied areas, mainly Lika and Dalmatia, as well as from Bosnia and Herzegovina. They are in the course of attempting, and I emphasise the word “attempting”, to prepare a counterattack which would have as its only objective the lifting of the blockade of Grahoovo. This is exceptionally useful for us because they cannot be ready to manoeuvre their forces in that area in the next four or five days or, in my opinion, not even in eight to ten days, which opens up possibilities for us, since it frees up the rear and the region behind us.

Second, the adversary has brought all possible forces to the Banovina, Kordun and Lika regions.

PRESIDENT:

Listen, how could they undertake a counterattack against . . .

Davor DOMAZET:

The counterattack is twofold, Mr. President. From Knin, or rather to the north-east of Knin, there are forces the adversary has partially transferred with . . . (they look at the map).

The counterattack forces come from two operational axes of Knin, they would be the forces from the occupied areas and from the north-east, from the direction of Drvar; those would be the forces of Republika Srpska. For now they are planning to use special forces and are already transferring them. They have left an armoured company at Slunj, thereby decreasing pressure on the 5th Corps. With the forces left over, and we know what the situation is over there, the special police forces in addition to the special Corps forces would be on the left flank, and on the right, the 1st Brigade of the Banjaluca 1st Krajina Corps and the 16th Motorised Brigade which have transferred from the corridor, and those forces have replaced the forces from eastern Bosnia which were in Srebrenica.

PRESIDENT:

Have they given up at this moment?

Davor DOMAZET:
No, no, they haven’t given up. They /! are/ manoeuvring their forces, Mr. President, because they are restricted primarily by a lack of fuel and then by everything else. The easiest manoeuvre for them is to pull these forces out because they can arrive the fastest, and to replace them with the forces deployed around Srebrenica.

But what is important here is that there will be no increase in forces which could jeopardise Orasje which is of vital importance for us.

That means that the overall forces he can muster for an offensive, and he will do it, would certainly not exceed 6,000 men. In view of our defence structure and the positions we hold, and GOTOVINA can discuss this in greater detail, we would have to stop them and lure them to us, just let them come, because this will then enable a strategic approach for us in the north and north-west.

Second, what is important is that he has let the Corps through, the pressure of special forces /as printed/. My suggestion is that the 5th Corps should not be substantially exhausted with the forces and in the area they have taken, because /!it/ has not changed the operative situation since communications have not been transferred. Instead, the Corps should be used as follows – it should leave a lot of its forces, because now it doesn’t need a major force, regroup the main forces, proceed to Kulen Vakuf to the second critical point, where their forces would be completely cut off. Only an auxiliary road will remain for them to withdraw.

In this manner, we have resolved the second critical point and cut off the entire area. That’s why it will be possible to carry out our other operations, of which you have spoken and which we will explain, in three to four days.

The second critical point or what is important are two areas – Kostajnica and Dvor na Uni. By resolving the question of one area, especially the first, and then the second – and the bridges for pulling out forces are in the second – the entire area will be cut off in operational terms. That operation could be carried out, to all practical purposes, very quickly. The directive which has now been given rests on all these foundations. It is only a question of planning the ratio of forces in that direction.

Accordingly, we will first proceed to the Gospic Military District which I think is vital for two reasons. First, a breakthrough to Ljubovo makes it possible to cut off communications and place the Udbina airport under our control with minimum forces. The importance of Udbina airport can cause us great damage, above all in terms of an attack along the Urin River. This is how we will resolve this critical problem.

The second key problem is a breakthrough in the narrowest part for which a plan already exists and should not be changed. We must advance towards Bihać, right to those Croatian villages there where HVO /Croatian Defence Council forces are deployed which, I believe, will be of special significance.

The third matter we must resolve is the missile attack which he will certainly attempt to launch against Zagreb. Therefore, the enclosure or pincer movement in the Retinja areas must be two-sided, to remove that danger. The same applies to Karlovac.

The major part of the operation remains. The main thrust would have an operational basis as an auxiliary /as printed/ from Dubica and via Sunja where an operation against Kostajnica has been worked out, so that we would remove that critical point.

Next, the areas stretching along the Una River valley /facilitate/ a very easy threat to Dvor na Uni. In addition, we can give the forces of the 5th Corps the task of
advancing towards Sanski Most, not to the Croatian borders, but south of the Una River, that is to say towards the Bosnian . . . , and in that manner we shall pose a threat to Dvor na Uni since it is possible to do so in that area. In this way our forces for the operation are quite realistic, because the overall ratio, and I would like to conclude with this, is as follows. In these situations, the response to their mobilisation is only 17%; that’s information obtained yesterday. The figure speaks for itself of the internal disorganisation and the fact that the first problem now is how to flee, and not how to fight.

The overall forces in this area are as follows. With all its regroupings, the 7th Corps has 7,000 troops. The Lika 15th Corps has no more than 6,000; Kordun, with reinforcements, has 4,500 and Banovina 5,000.

(Interruption:) And the 2nd Krajina? 7th Corps?

It has been shattered. I will give you the information I have. Therefore, Mr. President, there is a realistic change of executing the operation within that time limit.

I can go over the additional elements.

As regards Eastern Slavonia or Baranja, the ratio of forces is entirely different. The reason is the engagement of the Yugoslav army and the arrival, six days ago, of the Novi Sad 18th Motorised Brigade with its entire hardware and equipment as well as volunteers who have infiltrated the area. The total forces in the eastern sector are 16,000 troops, 160 tanks and 3 mixed artillery regiments. Those forces are already in battle order, both armour and artillery, and they have been deployed with a clear goal. They will undoubtedly attempt to do it, by occupying the bridgehead at Baranja, and the goal is to throw out the last Croatian soldier from that area.

Second, they will also certainly attempt to fire on the towns. It is their assessment and plan that if they are perhaps in the position to do so, in the event operations take a while – that’s why the operation in the west must be brief – that they could, if they attain a result, make an attempt even from the direction of Tenj, because yesterday they evacuated the entire population and their main forces are concentrated there, with the forces he has in Baranja and the pontoon bridges he’s bringing from Yugoslavia, he might attempt to cut off Osijek. But only on condition that the operation takes a while and if they really decide to engage themselves in that area, and succeed in moving us from the bridgehead.

In this situation, there is no danger yet, regardless of the fact that they have the forces, because he has to bring in the forces of the 43rd Motorised Brigade from Sis, there is no danger, primarily because of the firmness of the HVO defence at Osijek, that they could attempt their long-standing and planned manoeuvre south of Vinkovci towards Zupanja.

So we may exclude this possibility at this stage. What they are left with is opening fire on Vinkovci.

Therefore, the realistic prospects for that operation are now favourable, in view of the military aspect and engagement of forces, since their planned assault will play into our hands in the sense that they will be tying down all forces both in the operations in depth and in the occupied areas, while leaving us the opportunity to quickly close the remaining three windows or doors that they have, and then, with the already planned and developed operations forces of the HV /Croatian Army/ we shall penetrate deep within and break through to the border.

PRESIDENT:
Gentlemen, I have still not informed you about a political matter. Bildt, you know who Bildt is, has replaced Owen. He was in Belgrade recently. With MILOŠEVIĆ he negotiated a solution to the political crisis in Bosnia, on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, whereby MILOŠEVIĆ would recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of the Contact Group’s proposal. That means a 49:51 ratio, a Federation, a Confederation, and so forth. If he does, they will lift all sanctions within nine months. That means that MILOŠEVIĆ has agreed. Russia, France and England are backing it.

For our part, we have taken all steps to have both Germany and the United States resist, since this leaves the problem of the Croatian areas open and represents a type of pressure on us.

But this points – I am mentioning this because we have to conceive the implementation of our operations so that we do not provide Yugoslavia with a pretext – to MILOŠEVIĆ and their friends in the West agreeing to intervention by Yugoslavia’s in Croatian soil.

I think, as the Admiral put it just now, that if we hold on to, I think that, just between ourselves, we can even reconcile ourselves to the loss of the Drava bridgehead. If they attacked the Drava bridgehead in Osijek with all their forces, we would have great difficulty in stopping it. If we were to go to war there, then as far as the West is concerned, we’re getting embroiled in a war with Yugoslavia. And, as I said, they are afraid of Yugoslavia, Russia, Islam, a world war, and so forth.

What this means is that from a strategic and military viewpoint, we can even ignore that bridgehead, since it is not so significant. If we resolve this, than we shall resolve the other at a later period.

Of course, this can lead to their shelling of Osijek or Vinkovci. I doubt that they would attempt to take Osijek.

Davor DOMAZET:
No, I said that Yugoslavia could get involved there.

PRESIDENT:
That’s why I’m saying this.
One more thing, in this operation of ours, I don’t know, General, what would happen with ABDIĆ. We must force ABDIĆ to side with us and in the area of Velika Kladusa we would not encounter enemy forces but Muslims who would side with us. I think that this should be borne in mind in military considerations. ABDIĆ was in favour of cooperation with us, but IZETBEGOVIĆ was against it, and so forth.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
What I told you about, Mr. President, we had the conversation with him. He will not speak to any Muslims from Croatia and I think that he will abide by his positions as he has, at least up for the moment.

PRESIDENT:
Good, he has abided by his positions, but if we launch an offensive, then we should tell him, if you’re going to side with the Serbs you will suffer defeat, but if you stay neutral or come over to our side, then your future is secure. We have to act both militarily and politically.
Now, Udbina, as the Admiral said, /? should be put under control. It probably has to be destroyed by shelling. Do you know what, from a strategic point of view, is a drawback to our consideration of the plan? It’s all very well that the Admiral is now supposed to close off their remaining three exits, but you are not providing them with an exit anywhere. There is no way out to . . . ( . . . to close it off). To pull out and flee; instead, you are forcing them to fight to the bitter end, which exacts a greater engagement and greater losses on our side. Therefore, let us also please take this into consideration because it’s true, they are absolutely demoralised, and just as they have started moving out of Grahovo and Glamoc, when we put pressure on them, now they are already partly moving out of Knin. Accordingly, let us take into consideration, on a military level, the possibility of leaving them a way out somewhere, so they can pull out part of their forces ( . . . there is Dvor na Uni . . . ). Yes, but this Dvor na Uni is up there, but this here . . .

Davor DOMAZET:
Mr. President, here is a way and two ways; that is why in planning the operation we left this road in this area. This is the Lika area, here where the Serbs are, it is by the Serbs. We are leaving a route here and they can get out. The second route is leaving /? them/ Dvor na Una, because only at the final stage will we break through to Kostajnica, gradually advance and allow them to leave. We won’t close it off. So there are two key routes.

PRESIDENT:
Yes, let’s make it easier on ourselves and do that as quickly as possible.

Davor DOMAZET:
That’s what we were thinking about.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
Mr. President, just briefly, we have discussed here in detail the plan of the complete operation such as it is, and it is good, and we have carried out all the preparations in order to be able to do it. If the political circumstances aren’t ripe to adopt a decision to go all out, I suggest that instead of tomorrow morning, we start out a day or two later, and that we at least undertake the first stage or our entire plan.

PRESIDENT:
What does that mean, the first stage?

Davor DOMAZET:
Well, the first strategic stage after the operation, that’s how it should . . . and next as printed/ The first stage, seizing Ljubovo, placing Udbina under control. An attack by the forces of the Split Military District and the special MUP /Ministry of the Interior/ forces, from the slopes of Mt. Velebit to Gračac, and creating conditions in the second stage to emerge at Otrić. This implies an assault on . . .

PRESIDENT:
How long would that first stage last?

Davor DOMAZET:
Two to three days, two days at least, no, it won’t last longer (. . .for that, one
day) /as printed/.

Ante GOTOVINA:
There we have the forces of the 2nd Battalion, the 9th Guards, with special
units.

Davor DOMAZET:
Well, no more are needed, no more.

Ante GOTOVINA:
Yes, with special MUP forces, without any support, stronger armoured forces
in the breakthrough. We must create them, that means they would not be more than . . .

Davor DOMAZET:
Furthermore, that same first stage of the operation includes the breakthrough
by the forces of the 1st Guards Brigade and the other forces in the Military District, to
the north and south of the Plitvice Lakes. This means removing the danger of an
attack against Zagreb.

Zvonimir ČEVENKO:
Yes, Zagreb, Karlovac and Sisak.

Davor DOMAZET:
Yes, and in the same manner from Karlovac, and in the same manner a
breakthrough and our emergence in Kostajnica. That is the first stage of the
operation, and it is logical and resolves all the crucial problems.

Zvonimir ČEVENKO:
And, Mr. President, half of Krajina is gone.

Davor DOMAZET:
It is cut in half, the Krajinas /as printed/, and all vital strategic facilities are
under control and the conditions for the second stage of the operation have been
created, which will be of the same duration.

Dr. Miroslav TUDMAN:
Should this be cut off down here or not, from Mt. Velebit, here?

Davor DOMAZET:
Here? (Yes). No, no, the communication will be seized and we will break
through to Gračac, not at Vječerni; only during the second stage, when the 7th and 4th
Brigades are introduced, will we break through to Otrić as a key point, the same as . . .
in the direction of Grahovo, and then it is completely cut off, everything, all his
forces, and only that line is left for him to get out.

PRESIDENT:
Well, while this is going on, what is Gotovina doing there with these forces,
which he had over there?
Davor DOMAZET:
No, he’s not doing anything with these forces, because he has done everything that needs to be done; he’s only waiting for their attack.

PRESIDENT:
Wait a minute, it’s better for him to do something than to wait for a counterattack.

Ante GOTOVINA:
I have a proposal which may fit into the plan of the Chief of the Main Staff, and it is on the other side of Bosnia. If you allow me, I will set it out (they leave through the map . . .) This plan conforms to the operation plan of the Chief of the Main Staff of the HV, and extends from the east to the west, that is to say, from Bosnia and Herzegovina, from the already existing positions of Bosansko Gradivo, and also the wider Glamoc sector. The value of this operation is to tie down the forces of the 2nd Krajina Corps, break through to Vitorog and thereby create conditions to push through to Jajce and resolve the problem of Jajce. Second, with this axis, as in the first stage, the operation would take on . . . The operation would evolve at the same time, when the forces set out from the west towards the east, the forces of the 3rd Battalion, the 126th Regiment of the 1st Croatian Guards zdrig and the special units of the MUP of Croatia and Herzeg-Bosna, in the direction of the red land as printed, thereby placing Knin completely under control. The main forces of the 7th Knin Corps would be tied down in the defence of Knin. As far as other forces are concerned, I have a request, namely, let’s reach agreement with the BIH Army on two BIH brigades which would be attached and subordinated operationally to the joint staff here of the HVO but also the HV. They would have the task of going northward in the direction of . . . to head towards Kulen Vakuf to link up with the forces of the 5th Corps, which would be advancing in the direction of Kulen Vakuf. With this here we tie down part of the forces of the 2nd Krajina Corps, and by attacking in the direction of Kulen Vakuf from two sides and further . . . and the flank, from south to north of Kulen Vakuf, and from north to south of Kulen Vakuf, the remaining forces of the 2nd Krajina Corps would be tied down as would those which have come from the Zrinjski Corps, following data obtained from the intelligence service. Only later, when we have achieved a result on this side, will our forces head towards Western Bosnia; it is certain that they would direct a part of their forces to strike the flank of the forces of the Gospić Military District from the Split Military District and from the direction, what we have of the Mt. Velebit slopes, in the direction of Gračac, and they are in the direction of Otrić as printed. At that moment only, after well-verified information, I would engage the forces of the 7th and 4th Guards Brigade, to push through, by encirclement, in the direction of Otrić and thereon complicity snatch from the flank the forces halting in the direction of the forces of the Gospić military district and other military districts, Split, together with special MUP units. This would entirely smash their main forces of the 7th Corps, the 15th Lika Corps and close off the second line of communication, that is to say, the way out from Knin in the direction of Gračac and further on towards Bosnia, and this one we already have under control, at Knin, in the direction of Drvar. First we would gain the possibility of advancing on to Jajce, from this side, because we would emerge at the Vitorog mountain, from which we would completely control the area in the
direction of Jajce. From this side we could achieve what would in effect be a linking-up with western Bosnia. And, second, /we would have/ the complete closing off of the southern sector, which would resolve the problem of the southern sector in Croatia.

PRESIDENT:

Gentlemen, I accept your views in principle. There is something still missing, and that is the fact that in such a situation when we undertake a general offensive in the entire area, even greater panic will break out in Knin than has to date. Accordingly, we should provide for certain forces which will be directly engaged in the direction of Knin. And, particularly, gentlemen, please remember how many Croatian villages and towns have been destroyed, but that’s still not the situation in Knin today. . . . Therefore, we will have to resolve this with UNPROFOR, this matter as well, and so forth. But their counterattack from Knin and so forth, it would provide very good justification for this action and accordingly, we have the pretext to strike, if we can with artillery, you can . . . for complete demoralisation . . . not just this . . . /as printed/.

Ante GOTOVINA:

Mr. President, at this moment we completely control Knin with our hardware. That’s not a problem, if there is an order to strike at Knin, we will destroy it in its entirety in a few hours. With armoured forces, and medium and long-range missile systems. We are positioned at 20 km as the crow flies here from the? pass . . . 20 km away from the centre of Knin. The forces heading towards Knin are 400 good infantrymen from the 3rd Battalion, the 126th Regiment, who are all from this area and they know the area through and through. They have reason to fight here and at this moment it is difficult to keep them on a leash. There is the 1st Croatian zdrug, which has 300 infantrymen, which has proved itself in this area at this moment, and in any case, we can count on those infantrymen. There are special units of the Croatian and Herceg-Bosna MUP, which have 350 excellent infantrymen, who have shown themselves to be outstanding in the operation. That means that we have somewhere around 1,000 good infantrymen, trained for assault operations, for quick transfers on this difficult terrain; we can easily take Knin, without any problem.

PRESIDENT:

And you should take into consideration the possibility of a helicopter assault.

Ante GOTOVINA:

Yes, I’m thinking of that. What we are getting here . . . by striking from this direction is that we with all our forces, together with the other part of the 126th Regiment which comes from these parts, then go down the road already cut through in the direction of Uništa, we link up with the road at Uništa, advance in the direction of Svilaje with the rest of the forces and completely cut off this area, from Svilaje in the direction of Uništa and liberate it, and take control of this whole part here . . .

PRESIDENT:

Generals, officers, although we must not do anything in an ill-conceived manner, we must proceed from the fact that we have achieved such successes, from
West Slavonia and now in Bosnia, that we have gained the trust of the people, that we have the goodwill of the army, the support of a good part of international public opinion, while the enemy is utterly demoralised. Therefore, we need to be bold. That means not just having things under control, but taking it as quickly as possible, so he gets a taste of it, and we pay him back. Therefore, no risky ventures like suffering losses to achieve success. Nevertheless, I think that the political situation is so favourable that we should focus on entering Knin as soon as possible.

Ante GOTOVINA:
At this moment, from these positions, we can see, we have this and let us compare it to Sjeme from which we can see Zagreb, that’s what the situation is like now.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
Mr. President, If I may say so to Ante, I don’t believe that he can do it with our existing forces, because in a few days, very soon, he will be in a position of defending himself, and it’s highly unlikely that this can . . .

PRESIDENT:
Wait, wait a bit, he is taking as his starting point that’s he sets off from the west. What Serbian forces could confront our forces from the Grahovo area, but from the west?

(Several voices heard simultaneously).

Ante GOTOVINA:
I think this is the beginning . . .

PRESIDENT:
We must build our future successes on . . . (papers being shuffled).

Davor DOMAZET:
Mr. President, this operation here, on this level, it truly resolves that main premise which remains . . . and that is what is completely on this . . . /unclear/. . . Given that General GOTOVINA with the forces he has planned to enter Otric at that part, and that is one of the key points which are . . . (points to map) . . . you see, here, those crossroads, push through with those forces, and resolve the other critical point.

Ante GOTOVINA:
That’s clear. And, there’s something else, now we are closer to pushing through to Otric . . .

Davor DOMAZET:
But, even more, under one /as printed/ – if you look at that section in isolation, not at an operational or strategic level, then it appears entirely different. We say, the forces from the west. I want to ask right away – which forces? If our 4th and 7th Brigades are there, as the main thrust of the assault, that means, that we must this here . . . /as printed/.
Ante GOTOVINA:
If you anticipated advancing on Gračac with the 2nd Battalion... of the Guards Brigade, with these units... (Z. ČERVENKO: Not at all...).

Davor DOMAZET:
No, don’t, not that way. This operation is underway and it can’t contribute in terms of its offensive and dominant spirit /unclear/. We must come from the west, and we changed from the west; that’s why there’s no 7th Brigade on these new plans, since it is located here. And together with General MARKAČ’s forces and the other forces in the Military District, including the 2nd Battalion of the 9th Brigade, it must complete this first stage of taking the /partition wall/ as a critical point, then it has a role, this operation, here as it is...

Ante GOTOVINA:
At that moment it’s much easier to advance from this side to Otrić.

Davor DOMAZET:
It’s the only uncertainty, Mr. President, transferring the forces which exist, because the manœuvre would be truly difficult and it’s normal that it’s out of the question.

PRESIDENT:
No, there’s no transfer from here to the west; that’s stupid.

Davor DOMAZET:
Yes, that’s why I’m saying it; that’s the only change. But, likewise, the Split Military District must raise sufficient forces to be able to support them, because only breaking through to Mušković resolves the matter, because we must hold the river... (That’s okay, yes...). The remainder of the operation will follow the already mapped out...

Ante GOTOVINA:
I guarantee that we reach Mušković with the forces which we have at this moment.

PRESIDENT:
Let us consider first the reaction to this reply of mine, and to the current international situation. As I’ve already told you, my ambassador met the NATO Secretary General and he will exert efforts for understanding on our behalf. HP /expansion unknown/ reply to the reaction to my reply, as of last night. A very stiff letter. The Croatian President has categorically refused, the Croatian authorities fear a possible Serbian attack on Eastern Slavonia. If the Krajina Serbs do not implement the six items of the agreement, we shall witness a flare-up in the region which could lead to the escalation of war. If the agreement is abided by, perhaps there will be no escalation during the next two to three days. This was stated by Richard Holbrooke. And Richard Holbrooke is responsible for this in the State Department. HP /expansion unknown/. The Croatian President said that the offer was not sufficient. He obviously is not very interested in having the UN monitor the activity of his units.
while they are trying to advance through Bosnia towards Knin. TUDMAN also said that he refuses to negotiate with the leader of the Croatian Serbs, MARTIC, or any other war criminal. The UN spokesman, Ganes, said, late in the evening, that the next step was up to the Serbs. If they are ready to abide by the agreement, then we shall see some progress. If Bihać is not attacked tomorrow, if humanitarian aid convoys reach Bihać without any obstacles, that means that the agreement is valid. Even before the Croats repulsed the western forces of the Bosnian Serbs, General Ratko MLADIĆ said that the agreement would not change his plans to take back all the territories lost to the Croats within the past few days. Why has KARADŽIĆ issued an order to the chief, MILOVANOVIĆ, and not to MLADIĆ?

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
Because he is more powerful than MLADIĆ.

Davor DOMAZET:
So, there are conflicts between KARADŽIĆ and MLADIĆ, and MLADIĆ is under MILOSEVIĆ’s influence, while MILOVANOVIĆ is directly under KARADŽIĆ; that’s the split between them.

PRESIDENT:
Has MLADIĆ been heard of?

Davor DOMAZET:
MLADIĆ is currently in Mrkonjićgrad, while MILOVANOVIĆ’s command post is in Drvar.

Ante GOTOVINA:
Those are two current, one from Palic, and one from Banja Luka.

PRESIDENT:

Reuters. An astonishing Croatian offensive which has overrun two towns and a huge area, has forced rebel Krajina Serbs to slacken their attacks on the west Bosnian enclave of Bihać, and to agree to talks with the enemy. But in Zagreb, Croatian President TUDMAN rejects Akashi’s proposals. An agreement without any precise deadline for implementation is nevertheless a major concession on the part of the Serbs. However, it is not clear whether this is just a Serbian ploy, in order to gain time to regroup their forces, following General Ratko MLADIĆ’s arrival in the area. (Yes, Mrkonjićgrad . . .) AFP and Reuters. British Defence Minister, Michael Portillo, said on departure for Washington, where he will be spending 24 hours in talks on Bosnia, that he did not want to sound melodramatic, but that the Croatian intervention now opens up prospects of open war, in any case between the Croats and the Bosnian Serbs, which give rise to great concern. Radio Korenica, news at 1900 hours, Croatian President TUDMAN has categorically rejected the latest proposals of the Republic of Serbian Krajina to resolve the current crisis over Bihać, Yasushi Akashi stated last night. The broadcast goes on to relay their proposal. Banja Luka does not report on the President’s letter to Akashi but instead only mentions MLADIĆ’s threats during his visit . . .

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
MILOVANOVIĆ is a greater expert than Mladic, there is no doubt of that.

PRESIDENT:
I wouldn’t go into that assessment now, but you have understood Mladic, it can’t be denied that he is...

Ante GOTOVINA:
He is a better military commander.

PRESIDENT:
Yes, he is a better military commander, yes, and he is brazen, and he takes advantage. Listen, he, just like Karadžić and Milošević, is now using the disunity of Europe, France, England, Germany and the United States and, accordingly, they have exploited that to a maximum. It’s another matter that they lack forces now. Listen, the best sign was that after our operation “Flash” in Western Slavonia they didn’t succeed in taking the Orašje pocket from us, and they needed it desperately, to have a victory and to create that border on the Sava. So that is a sign of their helplessness, as a whole, which shouldn’t be underestimated, but we must also count on that. If they couldn’t take Orašje, how could they now endanger us in any area, particularly with a well-planned and outstandingly executed offensive action by us. I think that the idea set out by General GOTOVINA should be taken into account, the fact that the transfer of those forces to the west is absolutely out of the question, but rather their action from that area towards Knin and towards the west. You haven’t told me anything about we can do, if things start off in this way about Benkovac? Do they have any forces in Benkovac, or are they up there?

Ante GOTOVINA:
At this moment, all those forces are, according to intelligence from the security service, primarily composed of members of the Benkovac Brigade, from the Obrovac, Benkovac, Deleš, Kistanja units and were in the area of Grahovo and Glamoč. Their main forces were shattered there. This means their morale is at a low point now, and their return to Benkovac, to those brigades, and an offensive in that direction, are surely questionable. We have sufficient forces for our defence in that area, and a swift offensive by us would certainly compel their forces capable of launching a counterattack to withdraw to the north.

PRESIDENT:
We can go north, but then prepare some smaller units to enter Benkovac. Do you understand that?

Ante GOTOVINA:
Yes, it’s clear, those are local units.

PRESIDENT:
We must be daring, in a situation of general demoralisation. Listen, with the experience you have, and I have it from the war, with the experience you have – in a situation of general demoralisation where they can no longer rely on getting help, one must be daring, and so forth.
Ante GOTOVINA:
Yes, from that combat plan, which has already been approved, all of this has been provided for, that means, those forces which are in defensive positions have been designated . . . favourable situation, they shall set off to . . . /as printed/.

Davor DOMAZET:
. . . like forces in pursuit, the precise directions have been given to them, very small forces, where they will go deep within.

PRESIDENT:
Does anyone here have any new proposals or views as to when we can undertake such an overall operation? And you must plan it out. What DOMAZET has set out, but this has to be articulated in detail, what are the points, which are the axes from which we must take those points in order to completely vanquish the enemy later and force him to capitulate. But I’ve said, and we’ve said it here, that they should be given a way out here . . . Because it is important that those civilians set out, and then the army will follow them, and when the columns set out, they will have a psychological impact on each other.

Ante GOTOVINA:
A large number of civilians are already evacuating Knin and heading towards Banja Luka and Belgrade. That means that if we continue this pressure, probably for some time to come, there won’t be so many civilians just those who have to stay, who have no possibility of leaving.

PRESIDENT:
Is an attack on Knin possible without /hitting/ the camp which UNPROFOR has there . . .

Ante GOTOVINA:
At this moment, we can engage in extremely precise operations at Knin, systematically, without aiming at the barracks in which UNPROFOR is located. (We have all the photographs, and know exactly . . .).

Davor DOMAZET:
In those southern barracks, and his forces are to the north /as printed/. Therefore, we can fire with great precision without /it/ coming in the line of fire . . . a little to the south of of Knin, that has been precisely . . .

Ante GOTOVINA:
At this moment, all of our weapons are guided, directly guided.

PRESIDENT:
This means that it nevertheless requires a bit, accordingly, our main task is not to link up in the direction of Bihac but . . . and that nevertheless requires a change in our present plans. How much time do you need to complete the plan and perhaps regroup your forces? Will this require regrouping forces?

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
Two days, no longer.

PRESIDENT:
General CRNJAC, what?

Miljenko CRNJAC:
Mr. President, I also think we would need two or three days to regroup our forces, because this is now something new, General GOTOVINA is planning the 7th and 4th... that means that forces must be brought in deeper. Another thing, we don’t know, I didn’t know until now where the 5th Corps would be operating. If it engages in operations in the direction of General GOTOVINA, the situation changes immediately both with respect to myself and towards NORAC. Anyway, the 5th Corps is part of our plan, whether it engages in operations towards Slunj! or/ towards Staff Brigadier NORAC. Now the 5th Corps would most probably have to go with them, and arrange for it to engage in operations towards Kulein Vakuf, that is to say, that it engages in action down...

PRESIDENT:
How many men do DUDAKOVIĆ and the 5th Corps have?

Ante GOTOVINA:
He has 15,000. (He does?) Yes, yes, he does; he has another 10 /thousand/, but he has no weapons to arm them with, and that’s the problem. But he does have 15,000.

PRESIDENT:
All right, he can at least go through the motions of an operation towards the west and south.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
It would be best if he were to go south.

Davor DOMAZET:
No, no, Kulen Vakuf is his, and let him go from the Bosnian side of the border.

PRESIDENT:
I know, but that does not mean, if he advances on Kulen Vakuf, with a brigade... he cannot go there with just a company. (He will join those things).

Miljenko CRNJAC:
Yes, that’s right, this should be agreed on, but the forces which would come where the 7th was planned will need two to three days to familiarise themselves with the area, terrain, and so forth, at least that’s what I think.

Mirko NORAC:
You haven’t been listening; where the 7th will come, the 7th will come from the other side /as printed/; it’s the same thing, and we are not changing anything on the other side, this is coming, and nothing is changing, no forces. This is the easiest
manoeuvre and the fastest, but it is the same, the goal is the same. Ante, we have understood each other immediately. (Yes, the objective is essential). Yes, it’s coming to the same place, but from the other side.

Ante GOTOVINA:
Yes, from the other side, but from this side it’s much closer than a transfer. (We have no more . . .).

Mirko NORAC:
We have this here (they leaf through the map).

PRESIDENT:
What is MARKAČ’s task here, who will take Ljubovo? (NORAC).

Mirko NORAC:
Mr. President, in keeping with the tasks and combat plan, we have undertaken absolutely everything. That means that we have absolutely regrouped all forces and brought them to the waiting areas, grouped . . . and demobilised units, and established this, each brigade, brought in units, and demobilised units and brought them into the waiting areas /as printed/. Only the 1st Brigade, which should arrive during the day or tomorrow, has not been regrouped. As far as I’m concerned, I need a maximum of one to two days for this part. This means that I am absolutely prepared for the execution of the operation in its entirety, in one part of the link up, and with the 5th Corps, and two auxiliary routes, in the direction of Čanak, Trnavač, outside Koreničko vrelo, outside Korenica. And my second auxiliary route is Ljubovo, where I would take control of the airport. This means that I might /need/ a maximum of one more day which would be necessary to do it that way, although all my units are ready.

PRESIDENT:
You would have to go with the auxiliary forces towards Bihać, while with the main forces you would go south to Knin and Korenica.

Mirko NORAC:
No, no, my main direction of attack, in keeping with the combat plan is Glibodor, Lička jesonica, Saborsko, Drežin grad, while my auxiliary routes are to the south of the Plitvice lakes.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
And his brigades, and he has MARKAČ here in this direction, because he’s acting in coordination with MARKAČ.

PRESIDENT:
General, this sort of plan would be in keeping. I think that we need to make some small modifications, that would be in keeping with the plan, advancing on Bihać and cutting off the enemy is important for us. But the main thing now is the auxiliary route, the auxiliary task – advancing on Bihać. The main thing now is to strike the adversary and take the area.
Mirko NORAC:
Mr. President, just another suggestion, if you permit – then I could head towards Lapac, lead this part of the forces being regrouped, which is regrouping the 1st Brigade, lead them from the direction of Ljubovo downward, via Debelo Brdo and towards Lapac. That way we can close off that direction, and the forces of the 5th Corps of the BH Army would link up with the forces of the Military District and cut off that part. But we must block off Korenica in that event.

PRESIDENT:
Yes, yes, I think so too. Yes, what?

Dr. Miroslav TUDMAN:
In the event that this is done within, I don’t know, 48 hours, they won’t have time to pull out. (Yes, we’re closing him in then). Yes, we’re closing him in then. (Intermingling of voices). Yes, then it goes a bit to the south of Bihać, so this road remains. And they have time to pull out. (If we penetrate more deeply . . .).

Davor DOMAZET:
General GOTOVINA is going in an easterly direction and reaching this point here. We take Velebit and place Gračac under supervision and establish communication, and leave room here. The plan does not have to be fundamentally modified, only a certain direction, and this is where we cut off, this part to the north and south of Plitvice. We thereby create conditions to free Slunj as a corridor, as such, so that the 5th Corps will be able to advance in both directions. I think that no major modifications are needed now, only the final preparations which will take two to three days.

Mladen MARKAČ:
Mr. President, allow me to add something regarding my task in this plan on a micro-level related to Mr. NORAC – we will head out from Velebit – here is Sv. Rok and this is the Obrovac road – we come down from Velebit (this blue part) and have the task of getting there, blocking Gračac off and freeing . . .

PRESIDENT:
When you say you’re going to block Gračac off, bear in mind that there can be a state of panic in Gračac, you have to enter as quickly as possible and report that you have entered, as well as all of you who will be involved, because that will have a psychological effect in such situations. The psychological effect of the fall of a town is greater than if you shell it for two days.

Mladen MARKAČ:
The 7th brigade was in our operative plan – we were supposed to create favourable conditions for putting in more forces, and at the same time the Croatian Army would head towards Obrovac and Miškovec. Thus, at the same time as we’re doing this, an area is being opened up. However, with what Mr. NORAC has said now, it means that the task has not been changed . . .

PRESIDENT:
When you start heading towards this point, they will leave Obrovac by themselves.

MLADEN MARKAČ:
There is no change in the task, except that Mr. NORAC is heading upward. That means that we are going to drive them into a pocket here and from that point we can head towards NORAC, while NORAC can head towards Lapac, and we have practically evacuated the entire area. Everything fits in and to all practical purposes we gain with this plan proposed by Mr. GOTOVINA, in practical terms the entire area is placed under . . .

PRESIDENT:
Please understand, gentlemen, the situation in their ranks. Ante, they abandoned Glamoc when? Two days before we went in, and Grahovo itself, and what the situation will be there after these Croatian victories. And they’re so stupid, they’re saying the Croatian Army is being led by U.S. generals and NATO aircraft. It’s a general psychosis of demoralisation. But we must not allow ourselves to make a mistake and have them inflict unnecessary losses upon us, do you understand me?

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
Mr. President, in Ante GOTOVINA’s sector we must be careful, we cannot suffer a defeat here. What they are intending to do must not at any price /as printed/. . .

PRESIDENT:
At this moment they have no forces . . .

Davor DOMAZET:
The longer we wait . . .
And as I said, the forces they are preparing, I said that even under the most favourable conditions they couldn’t engage them all, they couldn’t do it in less than four to five days. This means we have two days of preparations, and we are three days ahead of them.

Dr. Miroslav TUDMAN:
It is realistic to expect that when this is cleared and their forces pulled out, then they can prepare after ten days. In that time we will clear the entire area.

PRESIDENT:
We need Thursday instead of Tuesday . . . (Voices: Thursday morning).
But before then they should provide us with a pretext, and provoke us.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
We should ask sMARKAČ to do that.

Mladen MARKAČ:
. . . and we accuse them of having launched a sabotage attack against us and of intending to head towards Maslenica, of intending to go over Mt. Velebit to the
road from Karlobag to Starigrad, that they want to cut it off, and that’s why we were forced to intervene.

Davor DOMAZET:
I think it would be best to do it in the following way. They are using Udbina airport, we can organise an explosion as if they had struck with their airforce and in this manner we can disguise all our axes, while opening up for ourselves . . .

PRESIDENT:
And here they’re carrying out a counterattack against Grahovo, our forces have repelled it and are going forward.
The same should be done up there in the north with Kostajnica . . .

Vladimir ZAGOREC:
Mr. President, we must open up a pocket for them. When they start to flee they will have to flee somewhere, they won’t go towards Knin or Kostajnica, we must open up a pocket where they will flee – Dvor na Uni.

Ante GOTOVINA:
The patriarch visited them. He said a prayer, held a liturgy at Dvor na Uni and went to Knin. He changed his plans. He was supposed to go to Banovina, but he changed his plans and went to Knin.

PRESIDENT:
Is it true that Arkan is with him?

Ante GOTOVINA:
Yes, they are guarding him, Mr. President.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
I wish to ask the President to tell us specifically what happens if they begin to shell Osijek. Should we do anything over there, Mr. President?

PRESIDENT:
I want to repeat what I said, we must now allow ourselves to be provoked so as to provide them with a pretext for Yugoslavia to enter the war, do you understand?

Vladimir ZAGOREC:
That would be a reason for us to head down there.

PRESIDENT:
We’re not capable of doing that. It would be stupid to simultaneously advance on eastern Slavonia and Baranja. We would lose the support of those friends who are supporting us with restraint. If they shell Osijek, they will compromise themselves politically before the world, and what could we fire on, some village?

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
We have no adequate objective.
Ante GOTOVINA:
Only Beli Manastir, nothing else, not even close.

PRESIDENT:
Only if we can hit a battery, nothing but that. 
Gentlemen, you know, the decision to proceed has its political, economic, financial and other aspects. What is means is that it costs us directly, and mobilisation and everything taken together both indirectly and directly. Tourism will probably not only not increase but the tourists who are now here will leave. But that’s why we can’t mess about. We’re going to settle the matter of the south and north, do you understand? Next year, we will have Croatia and tourism, and furthermore, we are liberating forces to tailor the Croatian borders in Bosnia, demarcation. Therefore, the fact that we are adopting these decisions now and implementing them is of immense historic significance.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
Another point, Mr. President, if you permit. I would appreciate Mr. ZAGOREC here saying clearly if he is capable of providing us with logistics support in terms of all the resources we request. I know the quantities of what we have, but this is essential.

Vladimir ZAGOREC:
We can extend logistical support to one part – you have the inventory, however, the amount of ammunition used up at Glamoč and Bosansko Gradište was relatively large. I am now only interested in this and I urge all commanders to take into account the amount of ammunition expended in these operations. We have reserves for some five days. However, attention should be paid to artillery. For example, 100 mm is being used for T-55 tanks much more than 130 mm or 122 mm for artillery guns.

Ante GOTOVINA:
Yes, this operation was very much a tank battle.

Vladimir ZAGOREC:
Yes, tanks were perhaps used more as guns, because we have this artillery ammunition.

Ante GOTOVINA:
It is such a hilly terrain, that the 130 mm and 122 mm guns, and the rocket systems are not being used so much since this is not a plateau but more of a tank fight, which implies a rapid breakthrough.

Vladimir ZAGOREC:
In a couple of days, 3,000 to 4,000 100 mm shells were fired.

PRESIDENT:
Gentlemen, I said this to all of you, and especially to some generals, that in this war we are really using up ammunition as if we were Russians or Americans. Therefore, use smaller units, engage in sabotage operations and use surprise, strike
with smaller infantry forces and even helicopter assaults where they are unexpected, but where a far greater impact can be achieved – it is clear. If we had enough, then I too would be in favour of destroying everything by shelling prior to advancing.

Vladimir ZAGOREC:
Mr. President, I guarantee that we’ll have everything, or rather, we have all the supplies, but I’m just asking everyone again to cut back, and use resources much more realistically. This is unpopular, I don’t just give away everything that’s asked for, because once given it’s used up . . .

PRESIDENT:
But tie everything together and make an assessment as to where supplies need to be given, while all of you should stop wasting and start saving. As far as we are concerned, GRANIĆ is now going to a meeting with Velayati, and we will attempt to solve it that way as well.

Davor DOMAZET:
The minister knows the area. The bunkers are heavily reinforced. Had we sent the infantry forward, we would have had hundreds of dead, but we advanced frontally, with a tank assault . . .

Ante GOTOVINA:
We’re landing with aircraft, both our own and Muslim aircraft. However, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that we have not received a single cent since that meeting. All this in the past six months, as the minister knows very well, was just based on words, from the S-300 missiles on.

PRESIDENT:
KAŠPAR, you’ll connect me with the Prime Minister when we conclude our conversation.

Ante GOTOVINA:
I told you last time that the debt was 70 million dollars; now it’s a bit bigger. It’s not a problem, but at least we should give something.

PRESIDENT:
The problem is clear.
(Interjection: There won’t be other problems).
Just a few words with respect to propaganda. In the next two days, I think this is what we should do, advocate our victory. I think that in propaganda terms we have not exploited the situation sufficiently. I heard, there was talk of 200 to 250 dead, and that SORIĆ repeated it. Ante GOTOVINA told me they had 317 dead. Therefore, in order to increase morale in the ranks in Knin, announce the numbers, 300 or 350, show the three tanks you have captured and which are in use.

Davor DOMAZET:
The Grahovo Brigade alone acknowledged 400 casualties, dead and wounded . . .
(Interjection: 1\textsuperscript{st} artillery battalion \textit{f} captured\textit{f}).

PRESIDENT:
That should be said.

Davor DOMAZET:
We have equipped the 3\textsuperscript{rd} HVO Brigade with the captured artillery.

PRESIDENT:
Publicise that in order to improve the atmosphere in our ranks and, of course, in theirs, and in the world. Look here, that world, even our friends, as far as our operations are concerned, were labouring under the impression that the Serbs were so superior that we were helpless, from Maslenica onward, since we \textit{f} dismissed\textit{f} UNPROFOR. They kept warning me that we would suffer a defeat. Now we have reassured them a bit, but make that information public – tanks, artillery batteries, losses, that means, from today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, have this constantly repeated on TV and on the radio and that they are attacking, that they are attempting to \textit{f} as printed\textit{f} by attacking, that their pull-out is just a manoeuvre, that they haven’t abandoned the areas they conquered in Bihač and so forth.

Dr. MIROSLAV TUĐMAN:
Should the information be relayed over the radio as to which routes are open for them to use to pull out?

PRESIDENT:
Yes, that should be said, not the fact that the routes are open, but that it has been noticed that civilians are getting out by using such and such a route.

Dr. Miroslav TUĐMAN:
Can we say this at some point at the beginning of the operation? Can we publicise the fact so they know that the civilians are using these routes to withdraw?

PRESIDENT:
Yes, it should be said that they have set out with passenger cars, and so on.

Dr. Miroslav TUĐMAN:
But you will close off certain routes, and tell them which direction to head in, so we have as little to do as possible.

PRESIDENT:
Where is that crossing?
(Dr. M. TUĐMAN: Where the Serbs are).

Dr. Miroslav TUĐMAN:
Here, it is even easier to see on this motoring map. It is Kulen Vakuf, the Serbs\textit{f}, it’s just like I said.

PRESIDENT:
Is there a route further on?
Ante GOTOVINA:
Yes, it leads to Bosanski Petrovac, towards Drvar, here, as you can see.

Dr. Miroslav TUĐMAN:
It should be said that it is not possible to pass through with tanks and guns.

PRESIDENT:
Is there anything else that needs to be clarified in principle?

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
I have a question. GOTOVINA, MARKAČ, how much time will you two require to link up?

Ante GOTOVINA:
After me, four days are necessary from two sides.

Mladen MARKAČ:
Eight to nine days in total, if General GOTOVINA has four days of work, that is to say, to get down, to carry out the operation, we anticipate four days to arrive outside Gračac.

PRESIDENT:
That’s not eight days. You should start out simultaneously, which means four days.

Mladen MARKAČ:
It’s a question of kilometres, Mr. President. We’re doing everything on foot. The infantry is on the road and there is no communication.

(President: How many kilometres is it?)
18 kilometres from the current position to Gračac.

PRESIDENT:
You don’t need four days for 18 kilometres.

Mladen MARKAČ:
It’s the configuration of the terrain; they on foot. The distance is the same to the border.

Ante GOTOVINA:
We have shortened it from this side, and I am exactly 20 kilometres from Otrić.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Are you meeting up with him in Gračac?

Ante GOTOVINA:
No, in Otrić.
Gojko SUŠAK:
That’s why I’m asking.

Ante GOTOVINA:
But he shouldn’t wait for me in Otrić. When I arrive at Otrić, I will have broken off all physical communication. I work independently of that. When he cuts off, he’s cut off all communications, there’s nothing left, and we have reached Gračac, we have entered Gračac. There is no need to link up. This is Otrić, he is in Gračac, and the matter is resolved; that is the objective of the operation. They shouldn’t enter this area, so the operation evolves . . .

PRESIDENT:
You will reach Otrić and come down here on the left hand side and see what the situation is like in Knin, and extend assistance in destroying a part and, if possible, go in.

Mladen MARKAČ:
Mr. President, as soon as we take Čelavac as a communications centre and to all practical purposes the nerve centre of that part, their communications system will be finished and there will be total chaos.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
Mr. President, I would like to ask, DOMAZET, please explain to me how these communications centres will go, in what order, in which phases?

Davor DOMAZET:
In the first strike, which would be the onset of the operation, we head out to the command post of the 18th Brigade in Bunić which creates conditions . . . for their system and enables the forces – I ljubovo is reached and placed under supervision.

Second, Čelavac is in that same strike, we’re going to Čelavac for the purpose of leaving him only part of the communication between Knin and through Petrova Gora, to listen in to them, we shall do that by aircraft.

(Interjection: You mean from Plomina when you say Knin?)

From Plomina to Pliševica and we have it so we can listen in to operative-strategic communications, and the destruction of Čelavac, we will take down all operative and tactical communications in the area of the 7th and 15th Corps. After that, when the operation in the northern part is launched, we shall go to Petrova Gora, we likewise leave Zrinska Gora so that we will be listening in to only one part of their communications and finally, it ends with Zrinska Gora.

PRESIDENT:
What about their mobile /as printed/ with which they might perhaps–/?
launchers/ . . .

(Interjection: You are thinking of anti-aircraft defence . . .)

PRESIDENT:
Surface to surface.

Ante GOTOVINA:
They can’t, they have an organised position in Maja (?) and of course they can, together with Arkan, from that area – we know those positions, so we shall try to neutralise them with our artillery, and if we see from electronic reconnaissance that they are moving, then we will head straight for them with our aircraft.

PRESIDENT:
That’s what I’m thinking, you shouldn’t forget that.

Ante GOTOVINA:
No, that’s what we planned.

PRESIDENT:
Listen, in this entire operation, where we have to cut off communication between them and take key positions, I would be very glad to see an airborne attack on some positions which are important, and where they don’t have a large concentration of forces. I haven’t heard of any, do you have them?

Ante GOTOVINA:
We have according to the plan, because if you look at the map here, you cannot push through the armour, only on the second day, which means, you cannot after the first 24 hours, the engineers will be working there, but inserting groups with a helicopter landing, when we land we shall take these main peaks and there we’ll facilitate the advance of the engineers and behind the engineers the anti-armour forces. I have only 24 hours to push through the road and join those two roads, to advance directly by road to Otrići. Thus, in the first 24 hours we will only use the infantry, artillery attacks and landing operations in the areas. You can see this on the map, it is this ridge. Later, when we have freed up forces, we can land inside Ravnii Kotari, and when we have come out on Otrići with our other forces we are approaching him from a more southerly direction.

PRESIDENT:
Maybe you should land on the Knin fortress to protect UNPROFOR there.

Dr. Miroslav TUDMAN:
We don’t have enough helicopters.

PRESIDENT:
The more daring you are, the greater the success.

Dr. Miroslav TUDMAN:
Then 20 men can fit in a helicopter.

Ante GOTOVINA:
We have a Hercules in Šepurine.

Dr. Miroslav TUDMAN:
Let me give you a Cessna as a guide.

PRESIDENT:
Over the next two days, clearly regroup, but let the Army rest a day earlier.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Mr. President, we have reviewed what we are going to do, and the question that now remains is what if?
First, what if they shell Osijek and Vinkovci and refugees start fleeing towards Zagreb? That means that a Government Staff should exist which will organise shelter. We must plan this ahead of time.

PRESIDENT:
With the Prime Minister /get together/ a senior Staff for this. From a military viewpoint, the task /is/ just to attack their batteries.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
We know that, but what I’m talking about is when they start shelling, we might have up to 100,000 refugees. Panic might arise. They might shell him so heavily that a stampede might occur overnight. Now, the way they are deployed, we must be organised in such a manner so as not to provoke panic here. Otherwise they will have achieved a counter-effect. That’s one thing.

PRESIDENT:
And stop them in the Đaković area. Don’t let them get any further.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Second, we must give clear /instructions/ to the commanders on the ground, Mr. President, about how to react if UNPROFOR becomes involved, which is not excluded. Last night I, the Canadians, the way they behave, they’re capable of it /as printed/. Things of that sort will happen. We must give them clear instructions. That’s one thing.
Second, I was thinking, Mr. President, that would be one staff. Another staff would /be for/ relations with UNPROFOR, someone who would be a permanent liason, someone who would be in touch with us and resolve things with them, for us to get instructions, because matters will evolve too rapidly for us to start looking around for them and calling them. That’s the second problem as I see it.
And third, Mr. President, I am not sure, Ante, you said that this operation is evolving as it should, provided that we obtain two brigades from the BH Army to head on up.

Ante GOTOVINA:
It would be a good thing if . . .

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
It would be unrealistic to expect that, if we had them, you won’t get them in two days, you might get them in two weeks and the question is what would you get. That’s one point.
Second, their /drive/ to Kulen Vakuf, it’s not realistic that they will do it, because then ABDIĆ could take advantage of the opportunity and he can liberate a bit, just enough for a provocation, but he cannot do anything else.
PRESIDENT:
My message should be relayed to ABDIĆ, that he should not only remain
neutral, but also cooperate with the Croatian forces.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
But it’s not ABDIĆ who’s commanding the units, Mr. President, it’s the Serbs.
And while ABDIĆ is resolving those problems ...

PRESIDENT:
Let ABDIĆ get rid of those Serbs then.

Ante GOTOVINA:
Mr. President, four days, that is to say, two days after the operation
commences, we will have two Muslim brigades, if it turns out like that /as printed/.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Wait a bit, we’re not launching an operation “if”, Ante, “if”, that “if” is
welcome, but we must know precisely what we can achieve.

Ante GOTOVINA:
You’ve noticed that I haven’t placed the arrow in the direction of Kulen
Vakuf. I said that this would be my request.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Wait a minute, but that means that they can pin you down with a counterattack
so you are unable to attack.

Ante GOTOVINA:
No, but I will have to free part of the forces to protect the flank.

PRESIDENT:
They cannot pin you down, they can’t, they don’t have the forces to pin down
all our forces, that’s a fact. The question is whether he can undertake offensive action
towards the west, depending on what you will obtain, but you must solve that with
fewer forces.

Ante GOTOVINA:
It would be ideal if the 4th Corps headed towards Kulen Vakuf and if we
dispatched two brigades in the direction of Kulen Vakuf.

Dr. Miroslav TUDMAN:
You must take into account that if this is postponed for two days, that means
that they will have four or five days until the end of the operation, they will have time
to transfer these forces and you will be subject to an attack over there. That’s their
only chance to weaken the pressure on Knin.

Therefore, it will be necessary to determine, there will be pressure and you
must count on that.
Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Third, Mr. President, let me just finish. Can we have your agreement, provided that we will face risks if we lose? I think that it would have a psychological effect on them if we, after the first day of the operation at Benkovac and Obrovac, take the risk of throwing leaflets which could cause losses, but we would know in advance that it is something we have risked, but we would call on them in your name, whatever kind of leaflet we make, after the first day of the operation. We would point out the routes which they could use to pull out, and formulate them in such a manner to double the confusion such as it is. But we must take a risk then and find the people to do it, and I believe that there are those who would take the risk of doing it.

PRESIDENT:
A leaflet of this sort – general chaos, the victory of the Croatian Army supported by the international community and so forth. Serbs, you are already withdrawing, and so forth, and we are appealing to you not to withdraw, we guarantee . . . This means giving them a way out, while pretending to guarantee civil rights, etc.

Dr. Miroslav TUDMAN:
If I may say so, it is evident that they tend to listen more to the radio and television instead of reading leaflets. It’s better to use radio and television . . .

PRESIDENT:
Use radio and television, but leaflets as well.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Use leaflets, but drop them among them. Instilling the feeling among them that you have succeeded, that you are above them, that you are dropping leaflets, this will provoke something.

PRESIDENT:
I agree, it also proves our strength. Good, we’ll go along with it.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Another matter, Mr. President. In that case, would we not need someone from your office, in order to re-establish this staff for propaganda. We established this staff in Posušje, but now this is being returned to Zagreb today, and we need someone from your office to be the contact person. Perhaps Ms. RAJAKOVIĆ, she should be on the spot in Zagreb, for it to function like last time.

PRESIDENT:
This is a question to be dealt with, what you just said and also in reference to UNCro, and this means ŠARINIC. What I’d like to know is whether it is safer to coordinate and manage affairs from Brioni or Zagreb.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
In psychological terms it would be very bad if you were to coordinate from here, Mr President, because of the population. Many people might take advantage of it, you know, the troops are being killed while you . . . it could be seen in that context.
On the other hand, knowing your lack of caution, perhaps it is better to remain here than in Zagreb. We come to an agreement on this, but you should coordinate activities from Zagreb. I think that’s much better.

PRESIDENT:
In political terms, it is absolutely better.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
That’s one thing; the second point is that there will be the ambassadors, Mr. President, Galbraith and all the rest who will be there . . .

PRESIDENT:
They’ll get their backs up.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
They’ve done their job, they will stay. When we take all this into account, Mr. President, it is my estimate that we cannot set out before Friday.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
Mr. President, I wish to return once again to the fact that the existing plans have been drawn up, and they are clear, preparations have been carried out, and our objective should be the first stage and then we should see, at that stage, what should be done further.

PRESIDENT:
Nothing, why further?

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
There is no first stage. We’re going to go.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
We’re going all the way. That will be the turning point.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
If, in psychological terms, you have a first stage, and then stop . . .

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
No, we won’t stop, you didn’t understand me, Minister.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Mr. President, I also wish to suggest that however capable MARKAČ is capable of goading them into causing provocation, they might fire on him somewhere on Mt. Velebit. This will not serve as some form of cover. NORAC should provoke something together with him; they can perhaps fire two shells at Gospić or somewhere. I think it should be an inhabited place; the area MARKAČ will be in, that is under Mt. Velebit, they could be firing all day.

Everyone is inside; NORAC is inside, and MARKAČ is inside.

PRESIDENT:
He doesn’t have to go in...

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
But he also has an axis; they are not fools, Mr. President, the hardware has come a long way. UNPROFOR is recording the axis and we don’t now if they will let them through.

PRESIDENT:
Let them record it, when we finish up in four or five days.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Good, but why would ??we/?, when we have the right way of carrying this out.

NORAC:
... use mortars in that area throughout the night or the day, and fire several missiles.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
And last, Mr. President, if it were ŠARINIĆ, who’s already in contact with the main commander here, they would each at their own level have to establish some kind of contact to tell the ones over here how far ahead they should give it /as printed/.

Mladen MARKAČ:
... they didn’t want to give it on time; this time we should just give them an hour, just enough to take cover.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
We met with understanding over there. There was an Argentine, I gave him two, and he reacted in one. That’s what I would do here, Mr. President, Hrvoje or whoever should give the one who is in charge two, and they should give one /as printed/.

PRESIDENT:
Then, gentlemen, this is what we’ll do. On Thursday I will come to Zagreb, I will also tell ŠARINIĆ, we will be in Zagreb, the negotiations will be held in Geneva on Thursday, and you use that time to prepare everything. That is to say, tonight you can just let them know, and then tomorrow or the next day ...

(Interjection: Provocations tomorrow and the day after).
Yes.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
And for Friday, I think that GOTOVINA should be the most aware of this, that the Guards /drug and all those who are supposed to go, they are all on leave already.

PRESIDENT:
What, should we?

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
Let them go home, I don’t think so. We can put them up so they can rest for two days. That’s not a problem.
Miljenko CRNJAC:
I have a proposal for the second day, Mr. President. We don’t know when the operation will take place, but I suggest that the commanders of the Military District come to the Main Staff so we can agree on the time and space for an operation. We should agree on this and we should know it.

PRESIDENT:
Wait, today is Monday, and you meet on Wednesday.

Mladen MARKAČ:
We will organise it.

PRESIDENT:
But on Wednesday, you can agree on that right away, on Wednesday in the Main Staff and at what time.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
They have communication links, they don’t have to agree now.

PRESIDENT:
It’s better to agree on that now, rather than resorting to communications.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
Mr. President, we have an operations team which knows what it’s doing. Therefore, CRNJAC, we would have called you even if you hadn’t mentioned it now.

PRESIDENT:
I know, but it’s a good idea for you to meet again in order to coordinate matters.

Kinkel has promised that Germany will support us, but we have to inform them ahead of time.

The main problem will be with UNCRO, with those Japanese bugs. It is their proposal, Akashi argued it with them for five hours, and then submitted proposals that UNCRO would deploy towards Bihac to stop us and would place observers on Dinar.

Gojko ŠUŠAK:
But they are insulted, Mr. President, he’s speaking of the borders of Bihac and the Serbian Krajina; there’s no Croatia in the agreement. I wouldn’t go to Geneva.

PRESIDENT:
Hold on, I’m going to Geneva to hide this, and not to talk. I won’t send a Minister but the Assistant Foreign Minister. That’s on Thursday.

So, I want to hide what we are preparing for the day after. And we can rebut any argument in the world about how we didn’t want to talk, but that we only wanted what . . .

The Russians will do everything possible in the United Nations to influence Zagreb, to restrain Zagreb. That the Croatian offensive, primarily that the Croatian Serbs desist from their offensive against Bihac. The Russians are also against action
by the Bosnian Serbs, and this would complicate matters and lead not only to a diplomatic but to . . . /as printed/.

So, you’re meeting on Wednesday, when, at what time?

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
We’ll get to that.

PRESIDENT:
When? Arrange things now.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
Mr. President, we see the problems that we have, I will easily inform them about them. We meet almost every day.

PRESIDENT:
You in the Staff, that’s another matter, but /I’m talking about/ meeting with the commanders.

Zvonimir ČERVENKO:
All right, then it’s Wednesday at 1600 hours.

PRESIDENT:
So agree in principle, in the spirit of what we have now discussed. I tell you, it’s better if you arrange things now.

(Interjection: Wednesday, 1000 hours).

Each of you should draw up programmes for yourselves and coordinate them in the Staff. Then coordinate how things are going to evolve not only from day to day but from hour to hour.

You will stay for lunch for half an hour and then you can go.

/Meeting ended at 1240 hours/.
MAP no. 8

Bosnia & Croatia: Livno Valley, 25-30 July 1995

Source: Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Balkan Battlegrounds: A Military History of the Yugoslav Conflict 1990-1995
MAP no. 9

Operation *Oluja*, 4-8 August 1995

Source: Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *Balkan Battlegrounds: A Military History of the Yugoslav Conflict 1990-1995*
ANNEX  53

Minutes of the Meeting held by the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, with Military Officials, on 23 August 1995 in Zagreb, pp. 01325991, 01325993-01325997

Source: ICTY, Gotovina et al. case.
ZAPISNIK

sa razgovora Predsjednika Republike Hrvatske, dr Franje Tuđmana sa vojnim dužnosnicima Republike Hrvatske, održanog u Predsjedničkim dvorima, 23. kolovoza 1995. godine

Početak u 10,00 sati.

PREDsjednik:

Gospodo, tema današnjeg sastanka je razmatranje vojno-upravne ustrojbe i razmještaja vojnih postrojbi.

Budući da je ustrojba oružane sile u svakoj državi, a bila je i u nas osnovno pitanje i uspostave i održanja države, ali od pametivijeka u svim državama pa i u nas isto tako problem izgradnje države i u unutarnjem poretku s obzirom na probleme pred kojima se pojedina država nalazi.

Prema tome, kad je riječ o vojno-upravnoj ustrojbi što znači u nas o podjeli na zborna područja kako ih do sada zovemo po imenima, a i na razmještaj jedinica, nakon toga treba polaziti, razumije se, prije svega, od geopolitičkog položaja i od strateških interesa države s obzirom na predvidljive i moguće protivnike i danas i u budućnosti. Ali, isto tako treba polaziti od toga da vojna ustrojba može biti najdjelotvornije sredstvo rješavanja unutarnjih potreba države. Mi doduše nemamo potrebe, posebne potrebe za rješavanje
drugi je što se evo, zadnjih 40 godina svake godine sve manje ljudi u Hrvatskoj vraća. Od 1953. godine do danas broj rođenih u Hrvatskoj je prepoznavan. 1953. godine je rodjeno oko 100 tisuća, 98 tisuća i nešto, a prošle godine 48 tisuća, dakle, dvostruk manje. To je nasvim sigurno nešto što ćemo i u vojsci osjetiti kroz neko vrijeme kad bude puno manje onih koji su sposobni nositi pušku. Ali najgora stvar u tome je vrlo, vrlo nepovoljan raspored tog pučanstva, dakle onog stanovništva i kojeg imamo. Tako da imamo na hrvatskom tlu prostora koji su gotovo crnje mrlje, u kojima gotovo da nema Hrvata. To je naravno posljedica velikosrpske smиšljene politike koja je htjela, namjerno htjela pripremajući ovu agresiju isprazniti prostore i kad gledamo današnju sliku Hrvatske, računajući nešto što je možda čak i preduhitreno računati da se svi ljudi vrate u svoje kuće, što je vrlo, vrlo teško, vjerojatno se neće svi vratiti, mnogi su se snašli u prostorima svojeg progonstva. Analizirali smo vrlo detaljno područje danas oslobodjeno i utvrdili u njemu s demografskog gledišta redoslijed prioriteta demografski, dakle redoslijed područja strateškog značenja za Hrvatsku po tome gdje nema Hrvata, jednostavno da bismo se usmjerili raznim načinima napućivanje tog prostora. I u tom redoslijedu po rangovima kritični prostor je onaj prostor koji na najužem dijelu zapravo cijepa Hrvatsku i gdje su ti koji su smišljali u Beogradu i drugdje to htjeli napraviti. Dakle, s našeg gledišta prostor prvog prioriteta za napučavanje su bivše općine Vrginmost, Vojnić i dio karlovačke općine. Dakle, područje Petrove Gore i oko te Gore. Na tom prostoru prije rata, dakle te tri općine, to je na ovoj karti - ovo što je jako crveno istaknuto, na tom području je živjelo 4 tisuće 259 Hrvata, samo 4.259 Hrvata, a 26 tisuće 298 Srba. Dakle, gotovo, gotovo potpuno prazan prostor i nacionalni prioritet broj jedan je to područje napućiti Hrvatima i napraviti koliko je god moguće da se napravi jedan balans. Mislim da se moramo orijentirati na to da ove gradiće koji tamo postoje a to su Vrginmost,
Vojnik, neka malo veća sela kao što je Veljun, Krnjak itd, da se u njima razvijaju i gospodarski pogoni.

**PREDsjednik:**

Nemamo vremena za to, ti iznesi situaciju, pa će se donijeti odluke.

**Dr Jure Radić:**


Slijedeći prioritet, treći po rangu, ovisno o tome da li uključujemo u razmatranje i područja Herceg-Bosne, odnosno Bosne i Hercegovine i ….
... treći prioritet, treći po rangu ovisno o tome da li uključujemo u razmatranje i područja Herceg-Bosne odnosno Bosne i Hercegovine ili ne. Može se rotirati više prema dubini Hrvatske ili manje.

Dakle, ako oslobodjeni prostor livanskog dijela, glamočkog, kupreškog, grahovskog i drvarskog bude u budućnosti Hrvatima naseljen onda manji značaj dobiva područje kninskog recimo prostora.

PREDsjednik:

Ako kada bude.

Dr Jure Radić:


PREDsjednik:

Da li znaš koliko je bilo poslije drugog svjetskog rata otprilike?

Dr Jure Radić:

U Kninu je bilo 60% Hrvata poslije drugog svjetskog rata, imam podatke ali nemam ih sada kod sebe.
PREDSJEDNIK:

Šta, 60%?

DR JURE RADIĆ:

Da, 60% Hrvata u samom gradu Kninu, samo Knin je tada bio mali.


PREDSJEDNIK:

Ni u Zagorju nema.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

Ne, ni u Zagorju. Nacionalno najčistija općina u Hrvatskoj je bila općina Donji Lapac. Znači, prioritet svakako je taj pogranicni prostor općine Donji Lapac i općina Knin i onda nakon toga se širi jedno veliko područje koje je prilično prazno pučanstvom, čitavo područje Like i sjevernog dijela Dalmatinske Zagore koje je potrebno svakako naseljavati, ali u jednom dugoročnom prostoru.

Područje benkovačkog kraja, odnosno Ravnih kotara koje je takodjer bilo većinski srpsko u mnogim svojim dijelovima sigurno nije toliko danas prioritetno jer ono nudi gospodarske razloge za naseljavanje i tamo će se vrlo brzo dogoditi naseljavanje. Mi danas
imamo pritiske, dobio sam ovih dana na stotine pisama i želja da se nasele, ali svi žele u Benkovac, ili od tih stotinu 90 hoće u Benkovac. Ljudi prosudjuju i znaju gdje je vrlo brza mogućnost razvitka itd. Dakle, ovo što je ovdje zeleno označeno, mislim da ne moramo interventno s razine države.

Zaključujem, dakle crveno i plavo područje hitno i prvorazredno napuniti Hrvatima koliko god možemo, područje šrafirano, tu spada dakle i Zrinska gora, nju sam ovaj čas preskočio i područje općina Lapac i Knin, odnosno u zaledju i područje u Hercegovini jednako tako u drugom rangu prioriteta, a ovo područje prazno u Lici koliko bude moguće. Hvala.

PREDJSJEDNIK:

Idemo na prijedloge. Sada obrazložite u odnosu na sadašnje stanje, kakve promjene predlažete. Ja sam dobio posljednjih dana od vas dva prijedloga i na čemu ste sada

GENERAL ZBORA ZVONIMIR ČERVENKO:

Ovako, gospodine Predsjedniče, mi smo vam onu prvu dali onako na brzaka, ne kao što ste tražili bez …

PREDJSJEDNIK:

Nisam ja tražio na brzaka.

GENERAL ZBORA ZVONIMIR ČERVENKO:

Jeste, tražili ste tijekom slijedećeg dana, ali to mi nismo mogli učiniti.
ANNEX 54

ECMM Team N2
The Consequences in former “RSK” of Operation “Storm”, Special Report, dated 23 August 1995
(Author Soren Liborius)
FROM: ECHR Team N2
TO: RC-KIN, HOM, DHOM-POL, HUM-Section
TYPE: SPECIAL REPORT, by mail
DATE: 23 AUG 1995
SUBJ: THE CONSEQUENCES IN FORMER "RSK" OF OPERATION "STORM"

Author: Soren LIBORIUS

THE CONSEQUENCES IN FORMER "RSK" OF OPERATION "STORM".

SUMMARY

In the period from 7th. to the 22nd. of August three ECHR teams observed a systematic destruction, mainly by burning, of property in the former "RSK" areas. A rough estimate is that between 60-80% of the property in former Sector South have been fully or partly destroyed. The burnings were to a very large extent carried out by uniformed HV soldiers under command inside areas where access was strictly controlled by HV Military and Croatian Civil Police.

The remaining Serb population was promised by the Croatian Government to be treated well and be given the same rights as Croats. However, their churches and fields remain undestroyed.

1. INTRODUCTION

a. The purpose of this special report covering the southern part of RC KIN AOR (former Sector South) south of GRACAC (WR6702) is to provide:
   * an overview of the immediate consequences of the fighting and the subsequent destruction from the 4th. to 22th. August,
   * a brief discussion about the driving factors behind the destruction, reflecting the frequently heard explanations.

b. LIMITATIONS: The scope of this report is to publish a general impression deriving form the observations made by three ECHR road patrolling teams paying respect to the safety procedures and not always enjoying complete freedom of movement. Due to the magnitude of the destruction and the limited resources we possess, this report is not a total account of everything everywhere. The data in this report will undoubtedly be changed. It is likely that some deserted villages will be repopulated, until now untouched villages will be set in fire and become deserted. Reconstruction will also change the picture.

2. OVERVIEW

a. DESTRUCTION. It is impossible to assess the exact scale of destruction, but at a rough estimate around 60-80% of properties in the former Sector South have been partly or fully destroyed. It should therefore be noted
b. TOWNS. It can be stated that the large majority of the small villages and houses of former Serbs are so damaged and burnt that it is impossible for them to come back in a foreseeable future. The only 5 places which are not severe destroyed are the larger towns KNIN, VRLIKA, DBRNIÇ, OBROVAC and BENKOVIĆ. These towns are ready to provide accommodation for incoming Croats displaced persons form the war in 1991-92. KNIN can and is likely to be used as a "show case". The reconstruction concerning these places is in process and all economic and living suppositions for living there may be finished within one or two months.

c. REMAINING SERBS. It is very difficult for the moment to estimate the exact number of remaining Serbs in former Sector South. But a fair estimate is 2-5 % of the former population. The remaining people are mostly old males or females. Only in the UN Sector South HQ in KNIN there we can find kids and younger people (soldiers included) who fled to UN due to lack of time to leave to RS/FYR and due to threat. Croats authorities are taking the Serbs to two so-called "collection centres" in GOSPIĆ and ZADAR for the purpose of registrations (but this procedure has not yet caught all the people!). During this time they can decide where they want to live in the future. A few of them were picked up by Croats relatives who will take care of them.

The for the moment known or assessed number:
-approx. 700 in ZADAR, accommodated in schools
-approx. 400 in GOSPIĆ and the same number in POW camp in GOSPIĆ saw prison
-700 in the UN compound in KNIN. 
-an estimated number of 50-100 people more or less hiding in KNIN town
-an unknown but low number in the other "villages" throughout the country.

3. LIVING CONDITIONS IN FORMER KRAJINA

Although the Comdr. of KNIN MD (Military District) published a strong call for all Serbs in Liberated territory promising them food, first aid, work,..., no such actions and benefits against Serbs have been observed. The only help they are getting is from IO's and as exception in KNIN in front of Broadcast teams. Asking the people for the reason of staying the common answers are: we are too old to leave our homeland and we don't want any more.

During the action "OLUIJA/STORM" all Livestock, cattle were taken away or killed and together with the enormous looting and destruction live conditions for this people are non-existent. The only exception of the damages were chosen buildings like Orthodox churches, schools, factories and buildings useful in
4. THE DRIVING FACTORS BEHIND THE DESTRUCTION

Now, more than 14 (fourteen) days have passed since the fighting in the successful operation "STORM" died out. One of the distinct developments following the "liberation" was large scale destruction of property belonging to non-Croats.

The scale of destruction, the way in which it is carried out and the general reactions from Croats watching from outside, points to a number of driving factors for the destruction.

One can expect the following:

- individual thirst for revenge. Soldiers or DP having endured various hardship in the past years. This is assessed to cause individual burnings of known houses. Can be committed by military as well as civilian personnel.

- the desire to remove the material basis for the ethnic Serb population, thus preventing them from returning in foreseeable future. They are mainly farmers and by burning of their houses, stables, haystacks, etc. They will be deprived of their basics. This desire is authorized and enjoys the support of the highest Croatian circles. This will lead to a well organized and relative fast executed operation carried out by personnel being in control of the authorities: police, military and others.

- the wish to use the burnings as a psychological operation designed to raise fear among the remaining Serb population in Sector East and in the western part of Bosnia-Hercegovina. From a military point of view this is a good opportunity to use well known standard techniques. The aim of this PSYOP is to facilitate the expected fighting for the desired terrain by creating an impression with the enemy that the war is merciless; that no prisoners or property will be spared the enemy in this case is likely to flee in large numbers.

- burning of fields and houses will make demining easier and less dangerous. It is true, that in a burned field detection of the mines is easier. This can explain burning of fields within or close to the ZOs where mines are scattered almost everywhere. But it can not be used when the case is burning of entire villages and "pinpoint" burnings of single houses. These houses have been searched and looted not only one by in general several times by civilians, HV soldiers or even HV MP personnel. Needless to say; the excuse of booby trapped houses is not trustworthy.

The mere fact that large town centres have been spared from massive destruction as well as have the area close to the Croatian coastal towns, the still ongoing "pinpoint" destruction.
and the wide scale destruction of whole communities in valleys, indicate a mix of factors. But at this stage it is beyond any doubt, that the burning of whole villages supported by military trucks carrying fuel is deliberate destruction, a coordinated and ordered process endorsed by the highest authorities. The aim can be nothing but the prevention of Krajina Serb return to their farms and other property located outside the larger Croat controlled town centres.

5. CONCLUSION

"Ethnic cleansing" is a word frequently used in the conflict. It appears in many different forms and the responsible ones are many. What ECMM has observed in the two weeks following Operation "Storm" can best be described as cleansing and effective prevention of the return of the serbs used to live as mainly farmers in the area. This action may be called the "fit for tat" operation, now we have the same situation as after 1991, including ethnical cleansing and scorched land strategy. But compared with the then successful serb forces this operation is far more professionally executed.

6. OPERATIONAL LESSONS LEARNED

When confronted with burnings of this type and scale, a lesson learned is: aerial patrolling should be available and conducted as a supplement to close-in road borne patrolling. Aerial patrolling provides for a fast, accurate and safe inspection, taking into consideration that nearly all fighting increasing the threat to aircrafts have ceased. (The author is aware of the tragic helicopter incident involving JNA MIG 21 fighters causing death to three ECMM monitors four ago) Patrolling by helicopters or fixed wing aircrafts falls within the standard means with which ECMM is operating.
Annexe A

This annexe notes day by day the observations concerning burning and destruction made by the EMM teams operating in the southern part of Sector South.

DATE: 090895
In village Biscupia (WJ9871) 5 troops with a white Lada and a green LandRover were burning houses. From the badges they belong to "DIVERZANTIA", a special unit marked with skull insignia. The unit is attached 7th Brigade. At the time we saw them, they had set fire to around 10 houses, while civilians were watching. The civilians are croats old and in number approx. 10.

The burning of houses were recorded as follows:
Verbnik (WJ9674) 1100 hrs.
Koldra (WJ9769) 1105 hrs.
Area between Uzdolje (WJ 9665) and Tepljuh (WJ9761) 1110 hrs.
Kanjana (WJ9458) 1230 hrs.
Gradac (XJ0350) 1245 hrs.
Kardina Giavica (WJ9957) 1330 hrs.
Biscupia (WJ9871) 1430 hrs.

DATE: 100895
The following was monitored:
RADUCIC (WJ860768), 1040 hrs. The village is deserted. No houses are burned, however they are all looted. RUDELE (WJ 7973), 1045 hrs.
No burning of houses, but looting was going on. Also troops were present.
KISTANJE (WJ7770), 1055 hrs. Completely burnt. The school, textile and TVIK factories are intact and guarded. At 1100 hrs we witnessed the main shop in Kistanje centre set on fire. A single person without unit insignia started the fire and disappeared in a army truck.
KARIN (WJ4986), 1250 hrs.
Karin consists mainly of weekend houses and is undamaged. Was not shelled and just the normal looting took place. However 2 restaurants were burned.
PARCICI (WJ6085), 1330 hrs. The village is completely burned. No life, no troops.
MOKRO POLJE (WJ827806), 1340 hrs. The village is looted but not burned.

AREA BETWEEN KALDRMA & CENICI (WJ9667), 1520 hrs.
Nearly all houses west of the main road are set on fire. It is a systematically burning of serbian property ongoing while heavy traffic is passing.
In KOSOVO (WJ9767) we saw 6 uniformed persons burning houses. They had a pick up loaded with canisters and were walking from house to house setting them on fire.

DATE: 110895
The following was monitored:
POLACA (XJO36720), 0925 hrs. The village is deserted. 4 HV soldiers were seen looting. Every house has already had this kind of visit. Cattle was seen shot lying around. Approx. 10 houses were burnt. On the way back at 1230 hrs. we saw 8 houses on fire. At this time the 4 soldiers were still operating there.

MIROVICI (XJO59733), 0945 hrs. The village is burnt. Some walls with the graffiti: "CAO KRAJINA". No civilians were seen. 10 HV soldiers were hanging around.

KJIJEVO (XJO89705), 0950 hrs. The village is completely burnt.

CIVIJANE (XJ112669), 1000 hrs. 50% of the village is burnt.

VRLIKA (XJ121629), 1010 hrs. The town is rather intact.

PODOSOJE (XJ1461), 1025 hrs. A few houses were burning.

CETINA (XJ144702), 1130 hrs. Catina is located in a valley and surrounded by small villages. The entire valley is burnt and we saw houses still on fire. Cattle was shot or loaded on trucks. One week ago a new shelter was built. This shelter was blown up from the inside. The roof construction was found next to the former shelter and the hole was refilled.

MARICY (WJ985827), 1415 hrs. One house burning. No civilians, no troops.

GOLUBIC (WJ9783), 1425 hrs. Village was deserted and no troops present. No houses were burnt but all looted. We found one body of an old man, a farmer, who was shot in the head and in his right side. TC: By the CPs we were told not to divert from the main road. The reason could be that the final cleaning of the area is continuing.

STRMICA (XJO07918), 1500 hrs. The village is without any life. No burnt houses but damage caused by shelling.

GRAHOVO (XJO992), 1530 hrs. The town is completely destroyed by shelling and subsequent fire. Apart from the orthodox church not a single house is intact.

Date: 120895

The following was monitored:

KRCIC (XJO25770), 1030 hrs. 3 old serbs are still living in the village. They are very afraid of getting tortured by soldiers as they have heard it happened in neighbouring villages.

BISKUPIJA (WJ9872), 1125 hrs. We found two old people in the village. No houses are burnt but all looted. Killed cattle can be found everywhere. No troops present. The orthodox church was locked and untouched.

ORLIC (WJ990699), 1135 hrs. 5 soldiers were still conducting small scale looting and livestock was walking around. Appr. 50% of the village is burnt.

JASMINICA (WJO1668), 1200 hrs. 2 soldiers with white ribbon seen looting and setting one house on fire.

KOSOVO (WJ975672), 1215 hrs. The church is still intact. The part of the village located west of the main road is completely burnt.

BARICI (WJ953667), 1230 hrs. 7 serbs are living in the village. They have all had the visit of HV and they were all told to stay and nothing will happen to them. In MASICI (same area) 10 serbs are living. No looting or burning of houses has taken
KARINA CLAV. AREA (WJ9956), 1300 hrs. Approx. 20 houses were burning and 1000 troops were burnt off.
MIIOCIC (WJ9959), 1305 hrs. The church is in good order and locked. SA firing was heard. The village is deserted and completely destroyed.
MAOVICE (WJ112617), 1400 hrs. Complete destruction. 2 refugees from Split did some small scale looting. They claimed they were looking for their former property. They wanted to return but realized that with the nature of destruction they would need economical help to rebuild the house.
VRLIKA (XJ1256830), 1425 hrs. Many civilians are moving into the town. It seems the majority comes from Split.

Date: 150895
The following was monitored:
RADUCIC (WJ7456), 1300 hrs. The village is deserted. No houses are burnt and no troops present.
RUDELE (WJ73973), 1305 hrs. Some houses burnt. No life.
KISTANJE (WJ7771), 1310 hrs. Except for the 3 factories and the school the village is completely burnt.
MACURE (WJ7273), 1320 hrs. One house was burning. 3 houses already burnt. No life.
KALANGIVA DRAGA (WJ6477), 1340 hrs. The village is deserted, houses are looted however not burnt.
BRGUD (WJ638752), 1345 hrs. Village is deserted. All houses looted, 4 burnt.
BRUSKA (WJ6082), 1405 hrs. CAMP A, Capt. Dragan's former training camp. The HQ building is burnt, the rest looted. No life.
ZEGARSKI (WJ6888), 1550 hrs. Village deserted, 5 houses burnt.
VUJANICI (WJ7285), 1600 hrs. One house burnt, no life.
MIDABAB (WJ7484), 1615 hrs. 3 houses burnt, village looted and no life.
ERVENIK (WJ7584), 1620 hrs. Village burnt down. Many cars and personal belongings from people trying to escape are left in the streets.
LOSLACI (WJ75835), 1635 hrs. Chapel and graveyard untouched. No houses burnt, no life.
ZEZELJI (WJ7781), 1640 hrs. No life, some livestock and one house burnt.
KOVACEVICI (WJ778809), 1650 hrs. Deserted, some livestock.

Date: 160895
The following was monitored:
KISTANJE (WJ7771), 1220 hrs. The cleaning operation has started.
DEVRSKE (WJ6857), 1225 hrs. Many houses are burnt, the village is deserted and destroyed.
ZASVIC (WJ 642642), 1235 hrs. One house was burning, some were already burnt, and the village is deserted.
LISANE OSTROVICE (WJ 6069), 1240 hrs. Fields are burning. This Croat village was already deserted 4 years ago.
KULTINA (WJ5S0714), 1250 hrs. The church is closed, intact from the outside except 2 broken windows.
DRCE WJ (679673), 1415 hrs. One house was burning, the village was deserted.
VARIJODE (WJ 7067), 1430 hrs. Not totally destroyed, some houses were burnt; some cattle but no live. People from Sibenik were watching the village.

TOMASOVICA STANOVI (WJ 7465), 1450 hrs. This small village was not damaged, but deserted except two old people.

Date: 18 AUG 95
The following was monitored:

KILJEVO (XJ0970), 11.00. The village is deserted and houses burnt.

BOJANE (XJ0969), 11.10. Deserted and all houses burnt.

DUBRAVA (XJ1166), 11.20. Deserted and nearly all houses burnt.

CIVIJEANE (XJ1166), 11.25. Deserted and burnt.

VRLIKA (XJ1262): the town is being reconstructed, telephone, HPT working and small shops are open, no electricity yet.

GAVJAK (XJ1629), 12.00. Weekend houses with CROats returning. No burnt houses.

N2 spoke with 3 returning elderly CROats claiming their old houses.


JEZEVIC (XJ1764), 12.40. Graveyard untouched, around in the plain a lot of unchecked cattle and sheep.

DRAGOVIC (XJ2157), 13.00. Combined two man guard by MUP and HV soldier. The church from 1300-cent. is not damaged.

UNISTA (XJ1164): deserted and burned.

DRACIC (XJ1164), 15.50. Deserted and burnt.

DABAR area in former ZOS: burning of fields have taken place recently.

Team passed out of the UN SS and checked the CROat villages just south of SS.

BITELIC (XJ3151): everything in fine shape and populated.

Date: 210895
The following was monitored:

KORLAT (WJ4383) partially destroyed, deserted.

KOZLOVAC (WJ5471) partially destroyed, deserted.

ZAIVIC (WJ8484) partially destroyed, deserted; houses on fire.

20/19.17 B AUG 95.

DEVERSKE (WJ6887). Totally burnt, deserted.

VARIJODE (WJ7068) totally burnt, deserted.

LOSICI (WJ3) partially destroyed, houses on fire 20/19.45.

B AUG 95.

ZAVODJE (WJ8183) partially destroyed, deserted.

PRKOS (WJ8382) partially destroyed, deserted.

TRAVICE (WJ7883) small scale damage, deserted.

BUTICA (WJ7584) partially destroyed, deserted.

SRAD (WJ7984): totally burnt, deserted.

VIJANICI (WJ7284) partly destroyed, deserted.

BUNDALE (WJ7998) totally destroyed, deserted.

KASTEL ZEGARSKI (WJ6889) totally burnt, but factory intact, deserted, churches are intact.

BANIC (WJ7293) undamaged in the southern part. (CRO?), northern part totally burnt.

KRUPA (WJ7293) totally burnt, deserted, problem: a lot of UNXIO.

KRUPA MONASTERY (WJ719737) undamaged, personal belongings from
The following was monitored:

**BILJANE** (WJ3883) Totally burnt, utility company is working.
**MIKULICI** (WJ4774) Undamaged, DP's returning.
**PODLUC** (WJ4873) Undamaged, DP's returning.
**PERUSIC** (WJ4972) Undamaged, DP's returning.
**ZAPUZANE** (WJ4573) Undamaged deserted, mining factory intact.
**POLACA** (WJ4173) Totally damaged by 1991-war, DP's returning.
**G.CERANJE** (WJ4969) Totally destroyed, deserted.
**BUDAK** (WJ5463) Undamaged, life normal.
**D.VIDUKE** (WJ4686) Totally destroyed, deserted.
**SMILIC** (WJ4786) Partly damaged, Not deserted.
**ZATON OBROVACKI** (WJ5596) Totally destroyed, deserted.
**BERBERI** (WJ6193) Light damaged, deserted.
**SANGUSE** (WJ5892) Undamaged.
**ZUPANI** (WJ5592) Partly destroyed, deserted.
**GAGIC** (WJ5789) Lightly damaged, deserted.
**PUZILE** (WJ5787) Lightly damaged, deserted.
**MEDVIDA** (WJ6383) Totally destroyed, deserted.
**MISKOVICI** (WJ5991) Totally destroyed.
**GUGLETE** (WJ6191) Houses set on fire at 2212.1514.B.AUG.95,
deserted. The HV.MP.BMW.car reg.no HV-408-VP accompanied by 3
civilians and a INA light truck left 2212.2014.B.AUG.95 the
deserted village.
**KOLARNA** (WJ6077) Partly destroyed, deserted.
**V.VAROS** (WJ6885) Undamaged, deserted.
**KOMAZECY VALLEY** (WJ6886) Untouched.
**BRGUD** (WJ5976) Totally destroyed.
**LISICIC** (WJ5475) Totally burnt, deserted.

**Date: 230895**

The following was monitored:
**KISTANJE**: in the auto workshop by the INA station (WJ775714) a
fire was lit at 11.04. Next to the place was seen one civilian
bus with HV-soldiers reg.nr SI 253-AB and a Renault car reg nr
354-S as the fire was lit soldiers embarked the bus and the
cars left the scene.
**POPOVIC** (WJ5769) Limited destroyed, deserted.
**D.LESQUIC** (WJ6769) Haystacks set on fire, horses uncheckd.
**DOBROPOLOVIC** (WJ6571) and (WJ6973) not destroyed, deserted.
**SAPONJE** (WJ6274) Not destroyed, small arms fire heard at 11.28.
**BANICI** (WJ5975) Limited destroyed, deserted.
**KNIN** one house set on fire 14.45.

The pinpoint destruction by fire witnessed by N2 at GUGLETE
(WJ6191), a house, stable and haystacks being set on fire in a
remote village. On the only way leading up to the village N2
met one HV MP car (carrying two uniformed MP wearing 72. BAT
sign) and a INA light truck. No one else was in the village or
in the surroundings. N2 observed the fire and village for 40
minutes. The smoke from the start of fire was clearly deriving
from burning fuel. Circumstantial evidence can only point to the MP personnel, the three civilians and the INA truck driver.

ASSESSMENT: We have seen numerous of villages and individual houses being set on fire by civilians or ordinary soldiers wearing uniform. This fresh incident marks a new most deplorable epoch. HV MP personnel participating in this destruction.

EA. COMMENT: The promises regarding property made by the Croatian leadership in general and GEN. CERMAK for the KNIN Region in particular clearly has a hollow tone.
ANNEX  55

Humanitarian Crisis Cell Sitrep,
Compilation of Human Rights Reporting,
7 August – 11 September 1995
HUMANITARIAN CRISIS CELL SITREP
Compilation of Human Rights Reporting

7 AUGUST 1995, 1300 hrs.

Based on the agreement of Croatian authorities to allow human rights monitoring in Sector South, two Human Rights Action Teams (consisting of one from UN Centre for Human Rights and UNCRP with UNCHCR and UNHCR liaisons) have been deployed in Knin to begin work in the Sector. Information received concerning possible human rights violations in the area should be referred to the Human Rights Action Cell contact person (Peggy Hicks, ext. 2949) or the Duty Officer at the Humanitarian Crisis Cell (ext. 2963, fax 3062). The Human Rights Action Cell is working to obtain access for deployment of two teams in Sector North and also hopes to send a monitoring team to Banja Luka.

7 AUGUST 1995, 2200 hrs.

Reports were received from several sources of shelling of displaced people on the road between Glina and Dvor. UNCHCR was able to speak by radio with a Serb member of the refugee column in Slatina Januz (between Glina and Dvor). This source reported 6 shells during a three-minute interval at 17.20. From the position of this source, 4 dead and 10 wounded could be seen. The source was unable to investigate further because shells were still falling. This report was passed to both civilian and military authorities in an effort to end the shelling.

One source reported firing from aircraft towards an area with displaced people in Buc. Petrovac. UNICR reported picking up casualties along the road from Bos. Petrovac to Kljuc in BiH in Bosnian Serb held territory. The casualties were being taken to Banja Luka.

8 AUGUST 1995, 1530 hrs.

Several sources report shelling in Dvor this morning involving an area in which there were an estimated 16,000 displaced persons. The situation was also critical in the area of Glina, which was reported as being shelled at 0900 by the HV. Efforts to set up negotiations to resolve this situation were under way during the morning. As of 15.15 hrs., a meeting was being held which included Serb military and civilian representatives. A cease-fire has been agreed. A joint commission is scheduled to meet at 17.00 to discuss surrender of weapons and safe passage out of the area.

9 AUGUST 1995, 1900 hrs.

A report has been received that minorities in Banja Luka are being evicted from their homes. The unconfirmed estimate is that these incidents involve several hundred people.
10 AUGUST 1995, 1200 hrs.

**Sector South.** It is reported from SECTOR SOUTH that there are still significant restrictions on Freedom of Movement (FOM) for UN Human Rights Action Teams (HRAT). They only have access to the streets around Knin and no access to the civilian population.

**Sector North.** Looting of cars and attacks on the lines of refugees were reported overnight by UNCIvPOL: 440 cars have had their windshields smashed. Refugees were reported to have been stoned by a large crowd in Sisak.

11 AUGUST 1995, 1200 hrs.

**Sector South.** Two Human Rights Action teams have been deployed in the area. The teams were able to travel to Dmisi yesterday, and have been interviewing displaced people in the Knin compound and in a Knin school where approximately 250 are housed. ICRC has begun to visit detained persons in the area.

**Sector North.** A Human Rights Action Team visited Sisak yesterday, and two teams will return to the area today.

**Sector East.** According to ECMM, 4-5 people may have been removed by the Croatian police from a convoy of refugees at a Croatian checkpoint set up near Lipoval. ECMM and UNCIvPol have strengthened their deployments along the route to address this issue.

**Vojvodina.** UNHCR reports that refugees from the villages of Gibarac and Kukujevići in Vojvodina have begun to arrive at the Minojac border crossing. By 17.30 hrs. on 10 August 1995, 50 people had arrived. In interviews with UNHCR, the refugees have reported that, as new refugees began to arrive from Sectors North and South, they were forced to abandon their homes. The refugees report that the entire population of the villages (over 800 persons) have fled.


**Sector South.** Of the group of approximately 117 mostly elderly people accommodated on a coastal island, UNHCR reports that two or three have been detained by Croatian authorities and UNHCR has no access to them. As of 1200 hours today, the UN has been promised full freedom of movement as a result of a four-point letter by General Cerimak. According to General Cerimak, 500-1,000 Serb civilians are still remaining in Knin and its outskirts. The UN office in Zadar reported that approximately 400 Serbs, including soldiers, were being held as prisoners there.

**Sector North.** UNCIvPol reported last night that 17 displaced persons were being held in the Vrginmost PTT building. Later reports put the number of detained at 65, of whom all but 5 have been released. ECMM has been blocked from entering the area, but has stood by during the day awaiting clearance. ICRC has
dispatched a team to the area. UNCivPol tried at 1200 hours today to take food to the detained, but they were denied access by the Croatian authorities who claimed the detainees were “sleeping.”

Two Human Rights Action Teams travelled to Sector North today. They intend to return to the area for further monitoring and investigation tomorrow.

Banja Luka According to UNHCR the situation for the minorities in Banja Luka has deteriorated during the past few days. Serb refugees from Krajina have entered the houses of both Croats and Muslims and expelled them from their homes. UNHCR is unable to confirm the number of these cases, however, UNHCR staff members have witnessed one such attempted expulsion. UNHCR reports another case in which a severely ill person in need of urgent medical care was beaten unconscious in his own house by uniformed men, who thereafter threw him out and occupied his house.

12 AUGUST 1995, 1500 hrs.

Sector South Houses on fire or freshly ablaze were observed by KENN Bat on both 10 and 11 August in several towns: e.g. Polje, Lunic, Ruzic, Ditunci, Kunci, Krkici, Treskavica, Civiljane, Donji Lapac. They found evidence of looting and systematic burning of houses by HV soldiers. They also reported deliberate destruction of both civilian and UN property.

Sector North Reports continue to be received concerning 6 displaced persons in the PTT building at Vrginmost on 11 August 1995. Some of the displaced people originally reported to be held in the PTT building have gone back to their villages, some young men have been taken for investigation in Sisak and the remaining persons were waiting for transport to other villages.

Human Rights Action Teams Two teams are operating in each of Sections North and South. One Sector South team went to the Korenica area yesterday and visited 9 displaced persons at CzechBat HQ south of Korenica. They report systematic destruction of houses and livestock in the area, including the village Otric, where nearly every building is reported to have been burnt and many domestic animals have been killed. A Sector South team travelled to Donji Polje today.

13 AUGUST 1995, 1700 hrs.

Sector South The Sector Commander reported that the Donji Lapac area is desolated, there are many slaughtered livestock and 60% of the homes are destroyed, mostly by fire.

Sector North Officers from the War Crimes Tribunal have arrived in Dvor to investigate the execution of civilians which happened on 8 August. Separately, two officers from Denmark arrived at DABAT to investigate the use of seven Danish soldiers as human shields. The remaining DP’s in the PTT building in Vrginmost
are reported to be in good health, with the Policija treating them well. All of them have decided to stay in Croatian territory and the local authorities are assisting them to locate their relatives. A Human Rights Action Team was prevented from reaching the Muslim refugees south of Vojnici today.

FRY 6-700 Muslims from Zepa in the FRY are being questioned by the FRY military as they are military themselves. UNHCR Senior Protection Officer is being involved with this issue.

14 AUGUST 1995, 1700 hrs.

Sector South According to UN Civil Affairs in Sector South, the situation is gradually stabilizing. Heavy traffic of civilians, military and police can be witnessed throughout the area. Looting and burning is also reported (e.g. from Donji Lepac). A Human Rights team visited Binkovac yesterday. They report houses ablaze in Kistanje and the surrounding area. Kistanje, Deverske, Otric and other towns have become virtually uninhabitable by actions occurring after the fighting. The local Croatian authorities are asking for lists of the DP’s accommodated in Sector South Headquarters and the names of those who wish to leave Croatia. 53 people left the UNHCR camp on Sunday, reducing the total number of DP’s at Knin to 740 and throughout the Sector to 785. UN will monitor any Croatian plan to evacuate the DP’s (as in the highway operation) but will not provide transport. Yestorday, one of the DP’s who had left Sector South HQ came back and reported he had been beaten up. UNCivilPol and the HRAT are following this case.

FRY According to UNHCR, more than 200 Croats have been expelled from Vojvodina. They crossed to Donji Miholjac in Republic of Croatia.

15 AUGUST 1995, 1800 hrs.

Sector South The burning of houses has continued in the area, for example in Vrhovine and Popovici and the small villages east of Drnis. In the village of Mrocvla all the buildings were freshly ablaze with six armed HV soldiers present. The Human Rights Action Team visited a large Serb Orthodox Monastery at Krk near Kistanje. Although the site had been vandalised, its religious shrines and considerable artwork appeared to be largely intact. It is now protected by the Croatian police. UNCivilPol were able to visit the Knin cemetery having previously been refused entry.

16 AUGUST 1995, 1500 hrs.

Bihac/Velika Kladusa A Human Rights Action Team was deployed to Bihac this morning. The team will travel to Velika Kladusa for human rights monitoring and fact-finding.

Sector South Knin authorities finally permitted UN access to the cemetery. Ninety-six crosses in total have been placed on opposite sides of two raised hilltop mounds, one much larger than the others. The crosses are very close to
another (approx. 70 cm.) and there are no individual mounds at all. Fewer than half of the crosses bear names. Despite the authorities evident effort in preparing the site, the site still gives an impression of a mass grave. A civil defense official at the site said that photographs, videos and fingerprints had been taken of all the dead. The official also said that most of the deceased were from Knin, were civilians and died in the HV's artillery assault on Knin on 4-5 August 1995. The bodies are said to be buried "in conformity with international standards," each in a body bag, 1.1 m. deep and 10 cm. apart.

As a UN/CivPol team attempted to investigate another suspected gravesite, they were fired on by a sniper. No one was injured. The team had counted 22 new graves, a minority of which were marked by crosses and only five of which bore names.

Additional homes were observed burning on 15 August 1995, in locations near Benkovac, Otric and Drnis.

By order dated 15 August 1995, General Cermak has reportedly lifted the necessity for "safe-passage" cards and directed Knin checkpoints to allow unhindered passage of civilians. This move apparently reflects the increasing number of Croatian civilians travelling in the area. KeriBat reports that Croatian military police at checkpoints have imposed restrictions on their movement.

17 AUGUST 1995, 1330 hrs.

**Sector South**: ECMR Regional Centre in Zagreb reported that the burning in Sector South still continues. According to their assessment, the large-scale destruction of property belonging to non-Croat is a coordinated and ordered process, apparently endorsed by the highest authorities. It is impossible to assess the exact scale of destruction, but ECMR estimates that around 60-80% of properties in former Sector South have been partially or fully destroyed. An ECMR team visited a POW and collection centre in Gospić. The team reported 74 POWs and approximately 80 elderly in the centre.

More houses, some with Croatian soldiers in attendance, were observed burning today in the Sector. One was seen at Padene, three on the road from Padene to Gracac, three at Komalica, two at Bakarja, three at Kistanje, three at Otočac, and one in a village near Drnis. A U.N. accredited WTN TV crew attempting to film the burning of a house near Drnis was detained at the scene by seven Croatian soldiers, who took them into a house, told them abusively that they had no right to film, confiscated their videocassettes, and ransacked through their documents, stealing more than 1000 DM from one of the crew's wallets. The soldiers then handed the journalists over to Croatian police officers, who threatened to confiscate their passports.

On 16 August 1995, the Sector South HRAT viewed four dead bodies in the village of Zagrovec, all appeared to have been dead for at least a week. Two of the bodies, both men, were in a gully by the side of the main highway; marks on the
road indicated they had been dragged to the spot from the other side. Both had bullet holes in their heads. Both were dressed in underwear and T-shirts; the man was wearing slippers. The right hand of the man wearing slippers appeared to have been mutilated, with several fingers cut off. Both men appeared to be about 50 years old. Back off the road, the HRAT saw two other corpses, one of a man about 50 years old who was found lying outside of his house wrapped in a blanket with a bullet hole in his head. The fourth corpse, reportedly of this man’s son, was found lying in a field; the cause of death could not be determined because of decomposition. UNCIVPOL reported discoveries of three more bodies, including that of a middle-aged man in civilian dress lying in front of a burned (not shelled) house in Zvjezinac, and two bodies of men in military uniform in Golubic.

UNHCR officers were denied access to the town of Vrlika on 16 August 1995, although the Sector South HRAT visited Vrlika on 15 August without difficulty. A report was received that bulldozers were seen operating during the day next to the Vrlika Orthodox cemetery. On 15 August, the HRAT had noted new-looking protective masks and rubber gloves discarded on the ground at the site, as well as fresh bulldozer tracks.

**Sector North** Reports from various sources indicate an increasing number of houses burning, especially in the Vojno Topoleno area. For example, in Perma, 23 houses have been completely burned, and only two elderly Serbs residents remain. In the Tinsa AOR, there are continuing reports of looting.

**18 AUGUST 1995, 1300 hrs.**

**Sector South** Representatives of ECMM visited three collection centres in Zadar schools where Serbs, from the former “RSK” controlled part of the Zupanja area, are now being accommodated. According to a policeman at one of the centres, there are a total of 700 persons registered (ECMM saw lists of about 440 persons). The people accommodated in the schools cannot move freely in the city. Approximately one third of them have now been accommodated with Serb relatives. ECMM was prevented by police from speaking separately with them, claiming prior permission was needed. ECMM reported that the first 10 Serbs who were accommodated in the Gospic collection centre with their relatives during the military operations, returned to their houses in the Virovino area.

**Western Slavonia** UNCIVPOL, in the company of local residents of Serb origin, visited the Pozega prison. All detainees were found in a good state of health.

**Sector North** According to DANBAT, approximately 500 Serbs are hiding in the forests and hills around Kostajnica and they may soon try to return to the town. DANBAT witnessed burning of some houses in Bijelnik. In the area of Ostoje (Croatia), a HRAT observed Bosnian Muslim looting parties taking what they could back to Bosnian territory. Extensive looting had taken place with destruction of vehicles and farm property, and indications of houses having been recently burned. They also observed 5th Corps soldiers driving trucks, which appeared to be loaded with looted goods, on the road from Glina to Zirovac.
19 AUGUST 1995, 1400 hrs.

ICRC has given favourable reports concerning the access they have been given to Serb detainees by Croatian authorities. ICRC have received notification of detained persons and has, so far, registered approximately 600. Almost all of the detained have been transferred from collective centres to district prisons. ICRC have gained access to all detainees of which they are aware.

**Sector North**  A Human Rights Action Team (HRAT) visited two collective centres in Sisak. While the humanitarian needs of the residents are apparently being met, many of those in the centre voiced their desires to leave, some wanting to emigrate to Serbia, and others wanting to return to their homes. Although Croatian police at the scene said that those who wanted to return to their homes had been properly registered and that no further investigation was necessary, they refused to allow any of the residents to leave unless a family member came to pick them up. A second HRAT gained access to the refugee camp near Kuplensko at the southern end of the area. They continue to report that the refugees they have interviewed do not wish to return to Velika Kladusa, based on fear for their safety.

**Sector South**  UN CivPol accompanied by a HRAT visited a detention centre in Knin. 570 persons were reported to have originally been brought to the centre but only 35 remained, most of whom wished to leave from the FRY. 160 of those originally detained were reported to have transferred to Zadar for further police investigation.

20 AUGUST 1995, 1400 hrs.

ICRC reports that refugees were forced onto buses on the nights of 15th to 17th August, the same time that IOs were prevented from entering the camp.

Allegedly, the purpose of putting the refugees on the buses was to transport them to Velika Kladusa and not to move them within the camp as reported previously. There is no indication that any organised repatriation of refugees has occurred.

A HRAT visited the Abdic Moslem refugees yesterday. The team interviewed a number of the refugees and received conflicting reports of BIH 5th Corps behaviour during their attack. Undoubtedly there seems to have been large scale looting and beatings, but some BIH soldiers appear to have been sympathetic to the Abdic families and soldiers.

21 AUGUST 1995, 1400 hrs.

**Sector South**  An ECMM team observed looting and burning in the area between Benkova and Knin. UNMOs observed burning houses in Kaldar, Kistanje, Bocani, Siroka, Kula, Serdari and Podgorje. They reported many Croatian civilian vehicles in the Sector, and in some areas the occupants of such vehicles were engaged in looting. An UNMO team found a dead woman at Ivonic who had been shot in the legs. A Human Rights Team was brought to the area; they examined and photographed the corpse.
After having loured the Knin area, the International Helsinki Federation (IHF) reiterated earlier UN statements that systematic plundering and burning of houses had occurred. IHF claimed that in the Knin area, up to 75% of the houses had been demolished to varying degrees, and that this was not a consequence of military activities. The IHF added that they would continue to investigate “cases of killing of civilians and victims of uniformed personnel.”

Negotiations continue with General Cermak to determine the future of the displaced persons in the Knin compound. Croatian authorities have said that 15-20 people may be charged with war crimes.

**Sector North** An ECMM team reported freshly burned houses in the Plaski area. According to a statement by a Croatian official, some HV soldiers are in prison for burning houses. The Human Rights Action Team operating out of Sinac also reported that houses continue to be burned, apparently by Croatian troops, in Sector North.

**Tuzla** Tuzla UNMOs report that local Serbs are very concerned about their future in the area. Serb houses have been intentionally burned, and Serb shops and restaurant owners have lost a considerable amount of business. For reasons of safety, the movement of local Serbs within Tuzla now occurs in groups. Many Serbs wish to leave but obtaining the necessary clearances on the black market is very expensive. Mixed families are suffering from the same discrimination and those who serve in the Bosnian army are reported to be ostracized by their comrades.

**22 AUGUST 1995, 1400 hrs.**

**Sector North** UNCRO, Sector North, reported that the registration of minorities on the area is in progress. More and more civilians are returning to their houses. They observed large scale looting by settlers, mainly of household items from abandoned houses.

According to an UNMO report, all the houses along the road between Sunja and Dubica have broken windows. 70% of the houses are so badly damaged that they need to be completely repaired. The area is without electricity, water, or functional telephones. In the village of Dubica, 90% of the houses are badly destroyed with no electricity or water supply. In Kostanjica, most houses are also badly damaged with no electricity or water.

In the area of Dvor, Glinja and Petrinja, UN CivPol observed the removal of abandoned vehicles and luggage from the road by the Croatian authorities. They also observed rebuilding and repairing of demolished houses.

ECMM reports that two houses were seen burning near Vojnic on 21 August, including a house in which an ECMM team had formerly been accommodated!
According to the report by the Human Rights Action Team, fifteen displaced persons accommodated in UN HQ in Slunj are afraid to remain in the area and seek evacuation to Serbia or abroad.

**Sector South**  UNMOs in Sector South report that looting and burning of houses are still going on in the sector. One team observed a total of 13 houses burning. An UNMO patrol in Kakanj found two dead bodies. A local resident told the UNMOs that HV soldiers had come to the village on 18 August, beating him and killing those two people. He stated his house had been also burnt by two other HV soldiers. UNMOs also received information about looting by HV soldiers.

**Federal Republic of Yugoslavia**  There are reports from refugees in the Sremska Mitrovica camp in northern Serbia that Yugoslav policemen entered the camp early in the morning of August 18 and, after beating a number of men, took away men of draft age in police vans to an unknown location. The families of those involved believe that the men were taken to fight in the Bosnian Serb army.

**Velika Kladusa Refugees**  The Bihac Human Rights Action Team (HRAT) travelled to the refugee encampment south of Vojnic, where it was joined by a Sector North human rights team. Refugees interviewed by both the Bihac and Sector North HRATs report that they were mistreated before they fled the area by 5 Corps., including beatings, threats, and sexual abuse.

**23 August 1995, 1600 hrs.**

**Bihac**  A Human Rights Action Team visited a prison in Bihac. The team estimated the total number of prisoners to be 70 to 80, including 15 "ARSK" POWs. Based on this brief visit, the team reports no substantial evidence of mistreatment of prisoners, except for some inadequate living conditions, such as lack of ventilation, windows and adequate lighting for many of the prisoners. Although the prison director said this prison was the only official one in the area, military prisons for each of the 5th corps brigades may also exist.

**Banja Luka**  A Human Rights Action Team interviewed Croat refugees from the Banja Luka area in the village Ivanic Grad in Sector North. One couple reported that they were forced from their apartment in Banja Luka by four local Serbs, and that Serb militia were charging people as much as 1,700 DMs to leave. Another woman described how "RSK" troopers from the Grahovo/Glamoc region forced her and her husband to leave within five days. Local militia said they were powerless to prevent this, so the woman paid Serb authorities 20 DMs to register with Serb authorities and left. Another woman described how former Serb militia from Grahovo threatened her with guns and knives to evict her from her home in Ljubia, 50 kms from Banja Luka.

**Sector North**  A Human Rights Action Team conducted interviews in two collective centres in Sisak. Those interviewed reported violence against Serbs fleeing the area during and after the Croatian offensive. One Serb from the village Blato stated that he was part of a column of displaced persons heading toward...
which encountered Croatian soldiers. The soldiers, who said they had to investigate for war crimes, allegedly pulled some men off their tractors or from their cars with brutal force. According to this report, the HV then gathered all the people in several houses near Dvor, gave them food and water, but did not allow them to return to their vehicles. A Serb from the village Premisle said the "RSK" had told them to leave to avoid being killed by the "Ustash." He joined a column of displaced persons which he said was shot at by the HV. This man also reported that Croatian soldiers forcibly removed him from his tractor, accused him of being a "Chetnik," and took his 150 DMs as "repayment" for the Croats he "must have killed in the past." A Serb from the village Cemernica/Vrginmost said Croat soldiers took him from his house after finding a shotgun there, and that the soldiers said his gun may have shot Croat soldiers, so he would have to be punished. The man continued by noting that an officer prevented his summary execution, but he was pulled out of his house, shaken, and sent to Cisek for "questioning on war crimes." He also reported that police at the collective centre have treated him correctly and that he has been cleared of any war crimes.

A Serb from the village Vojnic said he joined a column of people heading for Dvor after "RSK" soldiers advised him to leave. He reports that HV stopped the people, asked for weapons and threw everything on the road. The interviewee said he was pulled off his tractor by a soldier who took his wallet, threw him to the ground, kicked him, tied his hands and forced him to kneel.

UNMOS reported that 10 houses in Vrginmost and 35 in Vojnic had been burnt; between Blinja and Donja Velesnja 80% of the houses were slightly damaged; between Karlovac and Topusko 15-20% were had been burnt. EOMM reported more burning homes on the road from Gilina to Topusko and near Vojnic.

Refugee Camp near Vojnic. A Human Rights Action Team interviewed three young males, one aged 17, who report that they were arrested by Croat MPs on 18 August, who took them to BiH MPs, who in turn took them to Velika Kladusa. "These men say that they were imprisoned for one day, then released with the condition that they were conscripted by the 5th corps. The men report that they then visited their homes, which included two of their families, and returned to Vojnic camp by walking through the woods the following day. Other refugees reported that their families have been forced out of their homes in Velika Kladusa by the 5th corps.

24 AUGUST 1995, 1800 hrs.

Sector South. Yesterday, CivPol observed two burnt down houses in the village of Gracac. On 22 August, the HRAT met with CroPol and Civil Defence officials of the Knin area. They were informed that the collection of corpses is being carried out by a specialized team operating in the area. These authorities said that 130 bodies have been buried "in accordance with international standards," all of them in the Knin cemetery.
On 23 August, a HRAT visited the towns of Korenica and Udbina. They reported that both towns looked completely deserted and almost all houses were looted. Some of them were destroyed by fire and others as a result of shelling. The Chief of Staff of CEZEBAT informed the team that at present he was not aware of any Serbs living in the area, but he believed that some persons may still be hiding in the forest because of continuing shooting, looting and burning houses.

UNMOs reported that there are 82 elderly people and children in the village of Dabar. They returned to their houses from Gospic after several days of absence and they found most of the houses burnt down. They are in need of food.

Refugee Camp near Volnic The HRAT has interviewed several displaced people who claim that 5th Corps soldiers are coming to the camp, endangering people, and reportedly taking away a small number of men, with the alleged acquiescence of HV soldiers. The HRAT also met with three young men from Velika Kladusa who decided to go back to the refugee camp because they felt threatened in their hometown and feared that they would be subject to forced conscription into the army.

Sector North UNMOs observed numerous damaged or burnt houses in the area of Glunj.

25 AUGUST 1995, 1300 hrs.

Report Concerning Knin Cemetery - UPDATE The Humanitarian Crisis Cell Sitrep dated 16 August 1995 reported on an initial investigation conducted at the Knin Cemetery by a Human Rights Action Team (HRAT). A human rights team revisited the cemetery on 23 August 1995, and reports that the cemetery had undergone several changes since the prior visit. As of 23 August, the number of crosses placed on freshly turned ground numbered 144, an increase of 48 from the 96 crosses counted on 15 August. The current configuration of the cemetery is:

1) A large rectangular mound running north-south on which there are 91 markers (crosses). The team was also told that two additional people had been buried in this area, but that crosses had not yet been placed over them. This area has been significantly enlarged since the 15 August visit, when 56 markers were counted in this area;

2) A smaller mound located at the north-west corner of large mound described above which is marked with 13 crosses. This mound existed on 15 August, but no markers had been placed on it;

3) An L-shaped mound east of a storage shed on which there are 29 markers (this site is unchanged from 15 August); and

4) A smaller rectangular mound on the north side of the storage shed on which there are 11 markers. While this mound has not changed since 15 August, there is now a new plot of freshly turned earth (about 6m by 6m) without any markers on it which is next to the mound with 11 crosses.
The HRAT was able to view the smaller grave sites (numbers 3 and 4 above) without difficulty, but was initially prevented from approaching the main grave sites (numbers 1 and 2) by Civil Defense workers. The team was told that instructions had been given to prevent access from that area "because our work has not yet been completed." The HRAT was told to return in one hour, when the site supervisor would be present. When the team returned, they met with Mr. Jukic, Chief of Civil Defence, and were given access to the area with the large mound.

Only 46 of the 144 crosses on the various mounds have names on them. The civil defense authorities explained this fact by alleging that many of the victims were Bosnian Serb soldiers and FRY soldiers who did not carry identification so as to hide their association with the "RSK" army. The authorities were also asked why several married couples were apparently buried together. They responded that "when HV soldiers find a man in uniform with his wife, they kill both of them."

At present, it is not known how those buried in the Knin cemetery died or whether, in fact, 144 persons have been recently buried there as the crosses on the freshly turned mounds suggest.

25 AUGUST 1995, 1500 hrs.

Sector South At a meeting yesterday between the Sector South Political and Humanitarian Coordinator and General Cermak, the Croatian side was reminded of the continuing burning and looting of houses taking place in the Sector and was asked to stop such acts. General Cermak initially attributed those acts to bandits in HV uniforms, but then he did admit that his area of responsibility was vast and it is difficult to exert control everywhere. He said he sincerely regretted the occurrence of such acts which were contrary to the policy of the government of Croatia.

UNMOs reported that the looting and burning of houses are decreasing, but still continue. The CALO told UNMO that the Croatian authorities are aware of the problem but are "unable" to do anything about it. The police chief in the Udbina/Korenica area stated however, that police were trying to stop the looting and arson and for that purpose they set up roadblocks. He also informed that 134 Serbs are in his area, and said that they had chosen to stay.

A HRAT in Sector South reported that villages in the north of the sector were completely deserted with almost all houses looted, some destroyed, damaged or burnt down. CZEBAT reported that only a minor part of the houses had been damaged as a result of the actual military operation. They observed Croatian soldiers and police in the vicinity doing nothing to stop arson and looting. In the South, most villages were destroyed, although the Croat ones were relatively less damaged. In Vrlika they observed considerable civil presence and reconstruction.
28 AUGUST 1995, 1600 hrs.

Sector South UNMOs reported that the burning of houses and looting is still going on in the sector.

Sector North ECMM report that 80% of the houses along the road between Plaski and Jasenica were burnt. The orthodox church remained intact. Local people informed the team that the houses had been burnt by HV soldiers. According to a Croatian official, many Serbs are still hiding in the forests but he believed they would return to their villages with the winter approaching.

Sector West PIAC reported that some 600 Croat refugees arrived and are staying in Deruvar and in Bjelajci. 300 of them are from Kulas Banja, Dragovci and Banja Luka. According to their accounts, leaflets from the Association of Refugees of the "RSK" were thrown in their backyards at night urging them to leave immediately. The leaflets stated that Serbs had to leave their houses in the Krajina due to expulsion and, therefore, they were going to move in the Croat houses. The Croats were then put onto waiting buses and escorted by Bosnian Serb police to Srbac and crossed on the Ferry.

28 AUGUST 1995, 2000 hrs. (SECTOR SOUTH - HUMAN RIGHTS UPDATE)

Burning of Houses and Possible Executions in Grubori

A Human Rights Action Team (HRAT) found the bodies of five persons who had been recently killed in the village of Grubori. On 25 August, the HRAT investigated a large plume of smoke and found the entire hamlet, with some 20 houses and other small structures, on fire. According to unconfirmed reports received by the HRAT, about 10 camouflage-clad Croatian Special Police were allegedly seen moving towards Grubori that morning. When the HRAT arrived in the village, only three panicked elderly women remained in the village; other residents were meeting with UN personnel near the village. Croatian military personnel had reportedly urged residents to leave the village previously. The HRAT received assurances from Gen. Cermak's office that the Croatian authorities would respond to the situation, but no authorities went to the village until the next day.

On the evening of 25 August, the HRAT returned to the site and found the bodies of two individuals. One man, about 70 years old, was found on the floor of his bedroom in his pajamas with a gunshot wound in the back of his skull. The other man, about 65 years old, was found in a field with his throat slashed. When the HRAT left the scene, the six elderly women and one elderly man remaining in the village all declined an offer for transport out of town. The women were waiting and deeply traumatized. The next day, the HRAT found the burnt remains of a 50-year-old in the charred ruins of a house. On 27 August, the bodies of a man and woman, aged 41 and 51, were found in a field. They had been shot in the head. One other person is missing. In addition, the HRAT found the body of a person killed about two weeks ago near Grubori.
Croatian authorities allege that the fires and deaths in Grubori were caused by errant gunfire, part of an ongoing anti-terrorist campaign to root out remnants of "RSK" fighters in the area.

**Additional Bodies Found**

On 27 August, a HRAT found four bodies of elderly persons in civilian clothes in a hamlet near Golubic. They had allegedly been shot during the Croatian operation of 4 - 7 August, although there was reportedly little or no active local resistance in the area. In a nearby hamlet, the HRAT heard unconfirmed reports that seven persons were executed by shots in the back on about 5 August. The bodies were removed by Croat authorities, who were advised of their identities, on 21 August.

On 26 August, a HRAT saw the body of a young man in "RSK" uniform who had been shot in the head. There are unconfirmed reports that the man had been seen alive in HV custody on about 5 August.

**Burning Continues, Deaths of Elderly Alleged**

A HRAT in the Korenica area was told by local residents that six elderly persons had been killed on 12 August. According to these reports, most were burned in their homes, including a 74-year-old woman who was unable to move because of her infirmity. The victim's daughter reported burying her charred bones near the ruins of the house.

On 24 August, a HRAT saw five houses burning in the village of Doljani in the area of Otocac. A contingent of Croatian soldiers and several police were seen in two houses less than 2 kms. from the village, yet none appeared to be taking any action regarding the fire. A resident reported that other houses had been set ablaze the previous day; some 25-30 houses in the area appeared to have been recently burned.

In two hamlets near Golubic, houses had been burned both during and after the military operation, including a house which was seen burning on 27 August.

**Reported Threats and Intimidation of Local Serbs**

An elderly man interviewed by UNCivilPol said that two long-haired men in civilian dress armed with AK-47s came to his house at Stegnjac and threatened to kill him and his wife if they did not vacate the premises by the next day, 22 August. The man left but his infirm wife was unable to travel with him; the man reports he heard gunshots as he left. Later, UN personnel returned to the house with the man. His wife was found dead in a well with no gunshot wounds. Physical evidence, including a folded apron with shoes placed on top, suggest the possibility of suicide.

A 75-year-old Serb man reported that when he returned to his house in Knin on 22 August, three Croatian soldiers with assault rifles burst in, demanded to know his
nationally, threatened him, and beat him causing a visibly swollen cheek. This man also stated that when he attempted to report the incident to the Knin police station, the Croatian police officer allegedly merely laughed.

29 AUGUST 1995, 1400 hrs.

**Sector South.** UNMOS report that the burning of houses and looting is still going on in the sector. A CivPol patrol in the village of Plavno received a complaint of arson and murder committed by HV soldiers and Croatian Special Police. Five dead bodies were found in the village, two them are believed to have been killed by gunshots, the other bodies had been burnt.

In the village of Musica Stanovi, Croatian Serbs asked UNMOS to help them with food and to provide them transportation to the HQ compound. The Serbs express a wish to go to FRY. UNMOS were informed by local Serbs that a large number of civilians from the area of Podiranje were hiding in the nearby forests and they also wish to be transferred to Serbia under UN protection. UNMOS were given details, by the commander of an HV unit, of President Tudjman's amnesty order. All those who laid down their arms and willingly surrendered to the HV would receive a special “interview”. If found not guilty of war crimes (meaning that they did not use their arms against the civilian population) they would be released and registered as citizens of Croatia.

On 28 August, a Human Rights Action Team followed up on reports of “RSK” soldiers hiding in the area. While the team was meeting with residents and four “RSK” soldiers, the group was surrounded by some 30 Croatian Special Police. The Serb men, who were in civilian dress and unarmed, were registered and permitted by the authorities to remain in the area. One member of the Croatian Police noted that others who did not surrender, however, would be treated less sympathetically, making a slapping motion across a soldier's throat. In cases such as this, human rights teams intend to carefully register the names of those involved and to maintain a visible presence at the locations of any captures. ICRC was advised of this procedure and noted its intention to follow events occurring after capture, including visiting places of detention.

CZEBAT took 16 Croatian Serbs to their compound in Korenica last weekend. The Serbs reported that HV had burned their houses and alleged that people had been in the fires.

**Sector North.** UNMOS report that according to the Croatian Army Liaison Officer in Ogulin, the resettlement programme for Croatian displaced persons from 1991 was proceeding well. He reported that 250 people had returned to Plaski.

**Bosnia Hercegovina - Sector Northeast.** ECMM reports that the majority of the Serb minority in the municipality of Zivinice (south of Tuzla) had left their houses. They claim to have been harassed and in some cases physically assaulted.
30 AUGUST 1995, 1300 hrs.

"Operation Storm" Deputy Prime Minister Kostovic announced casually fighting under the Croatian offensive in Sectors North and South on Tuesday. According to the Croatian authorities, 211 Croatian soldiers and police were killed in the action. Kostovic reportedly described civilian losses as "great," noting that of 526 bodies found, 116 were civilians, 402 were "Serb guerrillas," and 8 have not been identified. Kostovic said that only 44 of the civilians killed have been identified.

**Sector South** On 29 August, a Human Rights Action Team (HRAT) observed approximately six HV soldiers coming from the hamlet of Borovic, where several houses were seen to have been just set ablaze. Upon seeing the HRAT, the soldiers turned back and rapidly dispersed. Residents in the area reported to the HRAT that soldiers had been threatening them and shooting guns in the area. Six local residents requested the HRAT's assistance in leaving the area. ECMM reported that houses were also burning in Markovac and in Polaca. Reports continue to be received concerning alleged killings in the hamlet of Glinic near Devrske on 27 August, but UN CivicPol and HRAT efforts to investigate these allegations have not revealed any evidence of such abuses to date.

General Cermak agreed to provide a report today regarding the Croatian investigation of the 26 August events in Grubori (the village was burned and five recently killed bodies were discovered there by a HRAT, as described in the HCC Sector South Human Rights Update dated 28 August). According to Croatian authorities, the village was a "Cheknik stronghold," and the dead "unfortunately" included two civilians who were "caught in crossfire.

UNMOs report that looting and burning of houses continues to occur frequently in the sector. UNMOs also report seeing nine men digging graves at the Gracac cemetery on 29 August; ECMM also visited the site and saw one body in a body bag.

UN CivicPol and UNMOs have been working together to survey damage in Sector South. With 50-60% of the area already surveyed, they report that 550 houses in Knin have been looted, and 69 homes have been destroyed (35 by arson and 34 by shelling). In the Knin area, there are an estimated 555 Serbs living in their own accommodations. In Drnis, there are 96 Serbs left. Destruction of houses is relatively less conspicuous there, but it is to be noted that Drnis has a proportionally larger Croat population. About 80% of the houses in rural areas are assessed as damaged.

While on patrol in the area of Oricic, UN CivicPol received complaints from local residents that Croatian Police and HV personnel continue to harass residents and loot houses.

The head of the Korenica Police informed the UN that two HV soldiers have been recently arrested for arson. They were sent to Rijeka for trial.
Sector North. UNMOs found the bodies of two men near Radasnica, G. Zirov. Both men were reportedly were civilian clothes, and one body had apparently been decapitated. The men are believed to have been dead for two weeks.

31 AUGUST 1995, 1400 hrs.

Sector South. As promised in a meeting earlier this week, General Cermaik has provided a map of areas in which movement will be restricted as of today because of Croatian "clearing of those defeated enemy troops." UN Commander Sector South has responded, noting that the proposed restrictions were contrary to the 6 August agreement between Croatia and the UN and would prevent UNPROFOR from fulfilling its agreed task of monitoring human rights. The area of the Croatian operation, in which movement will be restricted, is generally northeast of Knin, extends into BiH territory, and includes the Grahovo area.

UNCIvPol found five decomposed bodies in the hamlet of Radinic near Golubic. According to UNCIvPol's report, the dead are believed to have been killed by shooting on 5-6 August. UNCIvPol also investigated a decomposed body in Kabla, also near Golubic, with a Croatian Police Special Investigative Team and a doctor. Three decomposed bodies were also seen by an UNCIvPol patrol in the village of Gornji Zagrovic.

A Human Rights Action Team visited the cemetery in Gracac and found that there are now 61 crosses, presumably marking recently buried bodies, 22 more than on 18 August when the team previously visited the site. Only 10 of the crosses bear names. At the cemetery in Korenic, there are 21 crosses on a freshly turned site. None of the crosses have names on them.

UNMOs observed an increased number of burning houses in the Sector, especially in the Gracac area. The Otocec/Korenica, Sinj and Donji Lapac UNMO teams also reported many burning houses. FCMM observed burning houses in the Plavno valley. Yesterday, UNCIvPol reported major restrictions of movement on the road south of Gracac. An UNCIvPol patrol in Vrace saw four houses on fire, as well as a fire brigade crew. The crew reportedly left Vrace without taking any action to extinguish the fires. Two houses were on fire in Golubic, and HV soldiers were present at the scene.

The Chief of Police in Otocec told FCMM that he believe 206 Serbs remain in the area, but that a few others may be hiding in the forest. He also condemned looting and arson, but claimed that those activities are not organised and that police are ordered to prevent further incidents. FCMM observed 6 burning houses between Zverinac and Drnis.

"Operation Storm." As noted yesterday, Deputy Prime Minister Kostovice has released a number of official statistics concerning the Croatian offensive. In addition to the casualty figures given in yesterday's report, Croatian authorities estimate that 6,000 Serbs remain in Sectors North and South, of whom 3,255 are reportedly accommodated in collective centres run by ODPR. Croatian figures
place the number of men of military age detained in the operation at 907. If
the detainees have been released, more than 700 are still being investigated.

1 SEPTEMBER 1995, 1300 hrs.

Sector South  UN authorities continue to protest restrictions on movement
imposed by Croatian authorities in the area northeast of Knin. In a letter to
General Cermak yesterday, the Sector South Commander noted that a Human
Rights Action Team had observed heavy smoke rising from the forest in restricted
area. The Sector South Commander urged the authorities both to remove the
restrictions of movement and to bring to a halt the burning of houses. He
questioned why, when Croatian authorities were able to control so effectively all
movement into the area, they were unable to prevent the ongoing wanton
destruction of property. The Sector South Commander suggested that UN human
rights monitors could be a "valuable tool" in ensuring that property destruction is
halted.

UNCRRO reports that the burning of villages and farms is still going on in a steady,
seemingly systematic manner. A Human Rights Action Team and UNMOS
observed at least four burning houses around Udriha and another four near
Gračac. They also reported heavy smoke from the forest near Otrio, on the right
side of the road to Đorđići Lapač.

According to a Human Rights Action Team report, there is continuing evidence of
looting of villages by civilian "visitors" in the area. The team reports that many
vehicles in the area of Podlapače were seen with Gospic license plates, and that
some were parked near abandoned houses. People were observed loading
property from a house in D. Mekinjar, and a group of armed Croats, some of whom
wore uniforms of Croatian reserve police, were seen loading cattle into a truck in
Svrackovo Selo.

The district attorney of the Zadar/Knin Zupanja informed ECMM that all detainees
and POWs (both military and civilian) are investigated and, if necessary, tried by
the military judiciary if suspected of committing crimes against Croatia or being
involved in armed rebellion. Only those suspected of war crimes are to be handed
over to the civil judiciary.

Sector North  A Serb couple interviewed in Glina yesterday by UN Sector civil
staff reported that newly arrived Croat neighbours had been harassing and putting
pressure on them to leave the Krajina. The couple also said that Croatian police
was fully aware of the situation but refused to intervene. In addition, they report
that an elderly Serb neighbour was badly beaten by policija and fears he will be
subject to further attacks.

According to UNMO reports, looting and burning of houses continue. On the road
Plavca Draga-Slinj, every house has been shot at or looted. At Licka Jesenica, 50
recently destroyed houses (90% of the village) were observed. On the way from
Slunj to Velika Kladusa, an ECMM team noticed at least 34 recently burnt houses along the road.

**Western Slavonia** An ECMM team was told by the Pozega authorities that trials of those detained during the 1 May offensive are to be restarted on 11 September.

**4 SEPTEMBER 1995. 1300 hrs.**

**Sector South** On 1 September, an UNMO patrol investigated a new burial site at Vodotoc. In a graveyard which was believed to be an orthodox/Serbian on the basis of the names and letters on the monuments, the team found eight newly dug graves and additional freshly-turned ground. The patrol was informed by civilians that HV soldiers had buried six dead bodies during a night between 4-10 August. On 1 September, UNMOs observed burning houses in Vrhovine (one), Gk. P. Polica (2), Debelo Brdo (1); G. Pulca (2); and Triluje (4). In addition, 13 burning houses were reported by the Benkovac team. UNMOs also report that the Orthodox church in the village of Cetina has been completely burned inside, and that the contents of the church have been smashed and burned.

On 23 August, UNMOs found a dead body at Ivosevic; when the team returned to the scene on 24 August, they noted that the corpse, which as lying face up on a dirt road, covered by a blanket, appeared to be a male civilian, age 75-80. The cause of death was not known. UNMOs returned to the area where this body was found on 1 September, and found that the body had moved 3 meters and was now covered by two blankets; on top of the blankets there was a cassette recorder. The team removed the blankets and found that the body had been decapitated. After searching the area, the UNMOs found the head in a pig sty.

A Human Rights Action Team reported that restrictions on the movement of international organizations was imposed once again as of 31 August 1995 in the area of Donji Lapac, Knin, Plavn, Strmica Bas Gravovo and Unista. The team reports that a total of 15 houses in four or five villages between Crocic and Obrovac were on fire on 30 August. On several occasions, the HRAT saw men in HV camouflage uniforms loading property like washing machines and kitchen sinks onto private vehicles. ECMM reportedly observed men in HV uniforms emerging from a house that was just starting to smoke on 1 September. The HRAT also observed 4 houses on fire at Rebićevogрада near Udbina (30 August) and 1 house on fire near Strmica (1 September).

A HRAT visited 10 captured RSK fighters who are being detained at the Knin School on 30 August and 1 September. Among this group were the four young men who had been released by Croatian authorities on 28 August in public ceremony in which a Croatian Special Police colonel had stressed that the town needed more young men. The men were taken back into custody the next day. The prisoners appeared exhausted and traumatized. Four of the detained showed clear signs of beatings on their face; three of those men had been seen without bruises only 2 days before.
A HRAT found the decomposed bodies of five persons in Radinovic near Knin on 29 August. All the victims had reportedly been killed during the military operation on 4-6 August and ranged in age from 55 to 77. Three decomposed bodies were found in the hamlet of Rashke near Gornji Zagrovic.

UNCivPol reports that restrictions of movement now extend southeast, as well as northeast of Knin. An UN CivPol patrol was blocked at Polaca on 31 August.

**Sector North** According to UNMO, the "cleaning up" operation by the Croatian Army continues. UNMOs investigating a burning house at Gruboronic found HV soldiers sitting outside on the grass drinking. The soldiers became angry and forced the UNMOs back down the road. On 2 September, UNMOs found that a church at G. Cervijani which was undamaged as of 31 August had been destroyed. Houses burning or burned since 31 August were seen at Predor (1), Milankovic (1), Ostojic (5) and Kostajnica (2).

Serb civilians appeared very much threatened, many of them were in need of humanitarian assistance. In the village of Gruboronic, a UNMO patrol was told that on 2 September HV soldiers started to search the village for weapons but none was found. The soldiers took TVs and other valuables from the houses. They also took 2 men who have not returned yet. There are only three Serb women remaining in the village.

A CivPol patrol received complaints from Serbs that the Croatian authorities were encouraging the looting of the properties of Serbs from their abandoned houses, At Kostajnica railway station, 27 trucks with property apparently seized from Serbs were observed.

**5 SEPTEMBER 1995, 1300 hrs.**

**Sector South - Burning and Destruction of Property**

Human Rights Action Teams (HRATs) visited the hamlets of Tintori, Petrovici and Cvijanovic on 4 September. The residents of all three villages reported that roving groups of uniformed Croatian soldiers had visited the area over the weekend, causing grave fear amongst the inhabitants. In Petrovici, residents reported that three vencics rui or soldiers arrived in the hamlet where they periodically fired their weapons and loaded property onto vehicles. Investigating smoke rising from the village of Cvijanovic, a HRAT apparently surprised two uniformed Croatian soldiers of the Fourth (Split) Brigade who were lounging next to a burning house. A second building was burning just up the hill. The soldiers spoke vaguely of some other soldiers having set the fires.

At mid-day on 2 September, human rights monitors observed two houses burning on the Drnis-Knin road. That night, a major blaze occurred in a Knin neighbourhood at about 2100 hrs. UNMOs and UN personnel who went to investigate the fire were turned back by Special Police who said that a restriction
on movement had been implemented as of 2000 hrs. The next day, further investigation revealed that 5 houses had burned to the ground.

CivPol observed that two houses were burning in Biskupija and that the Orthodox church had been looted and destroyed by fire. In addition, CivPol reports that on 3 September, an armed HV soldier and two Croatian policemen who were in the immediate vicinity of a burning house in Sinica professed ignorance of the fire’s cause.

UNMOs also report that looting and burning of houses is continuing. As of 3 September, they surveyed 9,964 houses in 140 small villages out of which 69% are partially or completely damaged or burned.

In a letter responding to UN complaints concerning restrictions on movement and ongoing burning of property, General Cermak stated that he was “astonished at your statements about persecution of the poor and miserable from their land” which he considered “strong words and ungrounded accusations.” He asked for the UN to provide evidence of “at least one case of driving people out of their homes and burning their houses.” When a HRAT found two buildings burning in Cvijanovici yesterday with two HV soldiers in attendance, they notified General Cermak’s office but were informed that he was out of town.

**Sector South - Violence and Intimidation**

An UNMO team reported that on 4 September they found the body of a 65-year-old woman, who appeared to have been shot twice in the head, in a car in the hamlet of Babic, north of Kistanje. The team had seen the woman alive on 1 September and had helped her with her car.

On 3 September, CivPol went to Cmogorci/Mala Polaca to investigate the death of a woman. They received a credible report from a local Serb resident that who saw three HV soldiers come to the village and enter the house of a 67-year-old Serb woman on 29 August. A few hours later, the woman was reportedly found dead from a gunshot wound in her house, although her neighbour had not heard any shots. The UNCivil team did not see the woman’s body (which had been removed by Croatian Civil Defence on 2 September), but found what appeared to be the remains of a pool of blood on the floor of the woman’s house and bullet holes in the walls. A CivPol patrol was denied access by HV soldiers to Mala Polaca on 31 August with no reason given. On 4 September, a Human Rights Action Team saw HV soldiers apparently looting in the same village.

CivPol also reports that the Serb inhabitants of Otric have complained of daily looting, arson and intimidation by HV soldiers and Croatian Special Police. The inhabitants also stated that on 13 August, two men in Croatian Special Police uniform, and one in military camouflage, shot and killed an elderly Serb. In Plavno, a Serb civilian recently reported to CivPol that on 4 August, she saw her house on fire with two HV soldiers present on the spot. She tried to rescue her son, who was unable to move on his own, from the home but was allegedly
prevented by the HV soldiers. Three elderly women living in Mala Polaca, another from Miljevec, have reported to CivPol persistent threats and intimations from both HV and Policija.

**Sector North** UNMOs report the continued burning and looting of houses. They observed 11 houses, still smoking, in the area east of Mrški. Approximately half of the houses (15) are recently burnt or destroyed in the area of Zetaš and 90% of the houses there are looted. In the area south of Petrinja, UNMOs and a HRAT reported 18 newly burnt houses and a church. When they attempted to investigate, HV soldiers prevented them entering the area.

CivPol observed a burning house 200m from Glinj with 9 Policija personnel in the vicinity. A CivPol patrol observed Croats looting unoccupied Serb houses in Borojevići.

A HRAT visited Plitvice. They were told by locals that 8 people remained in the village which formerly had 260-300 inhabitants. All houses were ransacked and approximately 10 were burnt.

6 SEPTEMBER 1995, 1300 hrs.

**General Assessment** Burning of houses, haystacks, killing of live stock and harassment of Serbs staying in Sectors North and South continue.

**Sector South** At Brezovac, UNMOs found a large grave in front of a house, where a head, the back shoulder and one arm of a corpse were observed. It is possible that the grave contains additional dead bodies; further investigation of the site is anticipated.

ECMM reports that four Croatian soldiers and one MP from the 66 Br. were seen in the area of burning houses in the hamlet of Rusici near Plavno on 5 September. ECMM teams also observed tractors and vehicles on the road to Zadar loaded with furniture and other items. Some of the drivers of the vehicles were reportedly wearing Croatian uniforms. Similarly, people wearing Croatian uniforms were observed driving vehicles in Knin which contained household items. Two men wearing Croatian army dress were also seen loading furniture from an abandoned house; a second ECMM team saw a Croatian soldier carrying furniture out of a different house.

**Sector North** According to UNMOs, destroying and burning of houses is still ongoing. They report one burned and still smoking house in Ikovici. At Vorkapivci, 10% of the houses were newly destroyed. On the road between D. Miljana and Kovacevci, the majority of the houses had been burned and looted. UNMOs and a Human Rights Action Team (HRAT) observed looting by civilians. At the same location, looting of cattle by armed civilians was witnessed. A HRAT observed 9 freshly burned houses in the Mršići-Brdani belt. Some of them were still spreading black smoke. DABAT also observed one recently burnt house near Kostanjica.
According to UNMOs, restriction of movement is still in force at the HV checkpoint at Ustica. They observed a sign at that site which reads: "UNCRO stop. If you do not stop, I have to kill you". Also, UNMOs report that on the road between Kovacevac and Komasevo, refugees from Banja Luka are living in abandoned houses.

**Western Slavonia**  On 4 September, a Political and Humanitarian Affairs officer met with the President of the Bjelovar military court and a military judge. The Court began hearing cases of Serbs from the southern part of Western Slavonia who had been detained on charges of armed rebellion since the 1 May offensive. A total of 22 such cases are reportedly pending in the Bjelovar military court. In a proceeding on 4 September, the military court dismissed charges of armed rebellion against one defendant, finding that the evidence was insufficient; however, the accused was remanded to the Pozega prison because charges of crimes against civilians are still pending before the district court. The dismissal of charges before the military court and a transfer of jurisdiction to the district court on other charges is anticipated in additional cases. The Bjelovar military court will begin proceedings today in the cases of two additional Serbs detained since the 1 May offensive.

**7 SEPTEMBER 1995, 1300 hrs.**

**Sector South - Destruction of Property**

According to the report of ECMM, both burning and looting of houses are still ongoing in Sector South but the former has decreased. Civilian persons wearing uniforms with civilian trucks or cars with trailers from Sibenik, Split, Zadar, Rijeka or even Zagreb, have been seen travelling to their family houses, but returning with vehicles loaded with household items.

An UNCivilPatrol patrol observed several soldiers looting abandoned houses in the villages of Rudele and Cucevo. They used vehicles without licence plates. At Vujic, UNMOs observed 2 burning houses. The 6 Serb civilians who had been in the village on 30 August are now gone.

A Human Rights Action Team (HRAT) visited the village of Frkasis near Korenica, on 5 September. The village was totally deserted, every house visited by the team had been looted probably several times with the property vandalized. Some houses were destroyed by burning. In the relatively large Serbian village of Debeo Brdo, the team saw three freshly burnt down houses. Here also, all houses were looted and vandalized, many of them were destroyed. They also saw animals which had been shot dead around the houses. In addition, the team observed one freshly burnt down house in the village of Ondic, and heavy smoke rising from behind the hills near Udbina.

On 6 September, while returning from Donji Lapac via Srb to Otric, a HRAT observed hundreds of houses evidently recently burned and assessed that this
area is possibly the most extensively damaged region in all of Sector South. Houses were seen burning in the area between Doljane and Srb.

UNMOs report that looting and burning activities by the HV forces took place not only in the former "RSK" territory in Croatia, but also in the areas the HV gained from the BSA around and between Bos. Grahovo and Titov Dvur in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Sector South - Violence and Intimidation** Based on their activities on 5 September, a HRAT reported that in the region north of Kistanje, the few remaining local residents say that they are regularly visited, harassed and threatened by HV soldiers and Croatian civilians. Residents were unable to see their future there under those conditions. The villages in the region are completely abandoned, military and civilian people are seen undisturbed looting properties.

On 6 September, a Human Rights Action Team visited Knezevic, where residents reported recent looting and harassment by HV soldiers and civilians. Residents in the area noted that the security situation had been better between 4-15 August when CroPol reportedly had a station in the area; the station has since been closed. In Vrlika, a freshly-dug site outside the wall of the cemetery has been marked with six crosses. Croatian police report that some 500 Croatian displaced persons have returned to the town since 4 August. The HRAT also visited a site near Donji Lapac where half-buried body had been seen by UNMOs on 5 September. Three gun shot impacts were visible in the back of the decomposed body. The team was unable to determine if other bodies are buried at the site.

In the village of Brezovac, a decomposed body of a man killed by three gunshots was found. UNCivPol was informed by the Civil Defense Office in Knin that the five decomposed bodies found by CivPol on 30 August in Golubic have been finally removed and buried. CivPol will verify whether the burials have occurred.

**Sector South - Restrictions on Movement**

The HRAT visiting the Donji Lapac area was stopped while returning by HV military police at the Otric junction. The MPs claimed that the team had come from a "UN prohibited area." The MPs asked to see the Croatian ID of the team's interpreter. When an ID was not produced, the MPs threatened to arrest the interpreter if he is seen again without the document. The MPs disclaimed knowledge of the 6 August agreement between the UN and Croatia and said that they did not believe themselves to be bound by it unless otherwise instructed by their immediate superiors.

**Sector North** UNMOs continued to observe newly destroyed or burning houses: 1 at Javnica; 3 at Kosna and 1 at D. Klasnia (the burning of the latter house was being watched by Croatian police). 50 houses (90%) have been destroyed in Paukovac.
In the hills of Dvor, a Human Rights Action Team visited a graveyard in which crosses mark freshly-dug graves. The crosses bear numbers, but no names. On 14 August 1995, UN and UNMO visitors to this site saw only 27 crosses indicating recent burial sites.

On the main road north of Dvor, a HRAT encountered 4 HV soldiers in a truck carrying 10 elderly Serbs. The soldiers told the team that the 10 Serbs would be taken to Petrinja police station for registration and that they were expected to return to their houses later that day.

A HRAT observed 3 burning houses in Donja Zirovac, 2 in Brudo and 1 in Gornji Klasnic.

8 SEPTEMBER 1995, 1300 hrs.

Sector South - Destruction of Property

UNMOs estimate that all houses and 80% percent of the villages in the area from Durici to Podlapiac are burned and no civilians are seen. They saw burning or burned houses in the villages of Josevica, Zaluzje and Ristic. UNMOs report that although authorities are trying to assure the remaining Serbs that they are welcome to stay under the Croatian constitution, they continue to find evidence of harassment by HV soldiers against the elderly, as well as ongoing burning and looting.

An ECMM observer saw two burning houses in Kosalovac and one in Simprago. ECMM also reports that in Donji Lepuri, a church has been completely destroyed, graves have been disturbed, and the remains of the buried have been thrown about. In the area of Podinarje, ECMM observed several burned, looted and abandoned villages and hamlets with people engaged in looting still around.

In Orlic just outside Knin, a Human Rights Action Team (HRAT) observed several vehicles, many without licence plates, driving from house to house loading property. Also in Orlic, the team received a report that unknown persons entered the property of an elderly couple on the night of 6-7 September, shooting through the lock of their door and killing five pigs and a dog in the barn. The couple also told the team that last week, when soldiers entered the room of their son (who fled for Serbia on 4 August), they said that the son "will never sleep here again."

On 7 September, the HRAT saw burning houses in Cenici (2), Drnis (1), Josevica (2), Zaluzje (1) and Ristic (1). In Ridine, one building was seen still smoking, with numerous HV soldiers moving through the streets.

Sector South - Violence and Intimidation

In the village of Ridene, a HRAT was led by an elderly woman to the corpse of Serb man of about 45 years of age lying in a burnt out house. The man was reportedly killed by Croatian soldiers on 19 August, after, according to Croatian authorities, he himself had killed a Croatian. The woman said that the Croatian
authorities have forbidden the man's neighbours to bury the body. A Croat woman whose Serb husband fled on 4 August reported to the team that after she and her two sons (aged 15 and 13) were forced into a barn by HV soldiers one week ago, several animals were shot and killed.

A HRAT was prevented from visiting the cemetery in Gracac by Croatian police and military guards yesterday. Despite reference to the 6 August Akashi-Sarajevo agreement, the authorities steadfastly refused to permit entry, even following consultation with the local police command centre in Gracac. At the Korenica cemetery, the HRAT found the number of crosses on freshly-dug gravesites unchanged (21), although the area appeared neglected with almost half the crosses having fallen over. At the same location, a freshly-dug hole was observed, suggesting that a new gravesite was being prepared.

According to ECMM, 20 Serbs fled the village of Zcevo due to the threatening behaviour of looters. Some of these displace people joined relatives, others went to a collective centre in Knin. On 12 August, one of the displaced people delivered a list of people wishing to stay to the newly established police in Kistanje in order to be registered by the Croatian authority, but the displaced people report that the authorities have not visited the village yet and looting is still ongoing.

In the village of Benkovic Selo, CivPol received a complaint from a Serb man that he has been intimidated on a daily basis by armed persons dressed in both civilian and military attire. He also said that his agricultural machines and cattle had been stolen.

On 7 September, CivPol saw two dead bodies in the village of Rasule. Although the case had been previously reported to the Croatian authorities, no action has been taken yet. The case has been reported to the local Policija and they promised that the bodies would be removed today. CivPol will verify whether the removal has taken place. Dead bodies were also found in the villages of Vucsic (female) and Zmanja (male, three bullet holes in stomach).

Sector North: According to UNMO reports, the looting and burning of houses continues. They observed one still smoking house in Mrakovci, three newly burned down houses in Culumac and one house in tames in Brezevo Polje. In Culumac, they saw 3 HV soldiers looting houses. In Rudici, an HV officer informed UNMOs that 7 Serbs who had been hiding in the forest were registered and allowed to stay in their houses. The UNMO team was not allowed to visit them.

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: Following a discussion between the SRSG and Mr. Milosevic, the FRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs has agreed by letter to permit a UN mission to visit Belgrade in order to interview refugees from the Krajina.

11 SEPTEMBER 1995, 1300 hrs.

Kupljensko Refugee Camp: UNHCR has received reports of a number of disturbing incidents at the Kupljensko camp. On 26 August, three men who had
been collecting firewood in the hills around the camp were reportedly stopped by Croatian soldiers and forced to lay on the ground with arms raised. Each was then allegedly shot with a single bullet in the hands. According to this report, the man and a woman refugee who was with them, were then told to run away, after which the Croatian soldiers shot at them from behind. No further injuries were sustained, although one of the men who had been shot required hospitalization. Later the same day, a similar incident reportedly occurred in which 2 Croatian soldiers (in a vehicle of the same color and make as identified in the earlier report) stopped three refugees and shot bullets into their legs. Again, the refugees were allegedly then told to run and the soldiers fired at them from behind. All three are reported to be hospitalized.

More recently, on 8 September, two male refugees were forced by Croatian Special Police onto a bus that was returning to Velika Kladusa, according to reports received by UNHCR. Another three refugees were reportedly seized by the Croatian army from outside the camp and forcibly returned to Velika Kladusa.

**Sector South - Destruction of Property** UNMOs estimate that 30% of the houses in the village of Budzak have been recently destroyed. They observed 1 burning house in Vukavo, 2 in Neteka and 4 in Ristici. On 9 September, in the villages of D. Suvaja, Brotnja, UNMO patrols saw Croatian soldiers looting houses.

On 9 September, a Human Rights Action Team (HRAT) reported that the village of Vesadic near Korenica was half destroyed by burning, and the rest of the houses were ransacked and vandalized. Looting was evident throughout the villages of Klasnjica and Jasikovac. The HRAT saw four HV soldiers in the area, two of them driving an apparently stolen tractor. In the villages of Pecani and Josani, all houses appeared to have been looted and vandalized, some of them burnt down. In Pecani, the HRAT observed people loading cattle from a homestead into a truck with a Zagreb licence plate.

**Sector South - Violence and Intimidation** UNMOs continue to receive complaints from remaining Serbs in virtually all the area they patrol about HV soldiers visiting the villages, looting, threatening and harassment.

A HRAT visited the site where an UNMO team had found a dead body near Gracac (at Omsica) on 8 September. The body laid on the slope besides the road. The head was partially destroyed, possibly as result of a gunshot in the back of the neck. HRAT and CivPol found a decomposed body of a man in the Gracac area in the village of Kuburici. The man had been shot in his head.

After having previously denied access to the site, a HRAT visited the cemetery of Gracac on 8 September. They found 100 graves, of which 5 had not yet been marked by crosses. The number of graves represents an increase of 19 since the team's last visit on 30 August. They also saw three freshly-dug holes of varying lengths (10 m, 3 m, and 1 m) which appeared to be future gravesites.

On 10 September, a HRAT at the scene of a burning house in Knin was approach
by an angry, armed man in military uniform. The man told them that there was no job for the UN in the area. On 8 September, two shots passed near UN CivPol monitors conducting a foot patrol in the village of Brumo.

**Sector North - Destruction of property** According to UNMO reports, the burning of houses in the Sector continues but seems to be decreasing. At Mrceaj, UNMOs observed that approximately 20% of the houses have been recently destroyed. On 10 September, they saw burning houses in Sladejevici, in Broconac and in Licko Petrovo Selo. On 9 September, houses were seen burning or freshly burnt in Sladejevici, Lumardenik, and Kastenovic. At Svujic, UNMOs report that approximately 50% of the houses were newly destroyed.

A HRAT observed many burnt houses in the village of Goric Budacka Selo. Out of 60 Serb families living there before the Croatian offensive, only 5 persons have stayed. In the village of Vodevic Brdo Selo, local residents complained about harassment by Muslim refugees from the Kupljenasko refugee camp. A tractor and some agricultural equipments were reportedly stolen.

**Sector North - Violence and Intimidation** On 10 September, CivPol reported the murder of a Serb male in the village of Svinjica. The victim was shot twice by an automatic rifle, in the head and in the back. According to a local policeman, the victim's sons were soldiers of the ARSK, therefore, his death might be an act of revenge. Croatian police did not allow CivPol to enter the house and to be present during the examination.

On 8 September, UNMOs were told by an 85-year-old woman at Momciclovica that earlier the same day, Croatian soldiers had ordered her to enter her house and then had fired two shots. UNMOs confirmed two bullet holes through the window. In Gruboronce, UNMOs received a report from a 68-year-old Serb man that on 25 August, HV soldiers had taken him from his house at gun point and told him he was a chetnik and would be killed. The trigger of a gun pointed at him was pulled but no bullet was fired. The man said that he had been beaten by the soldiers; UNMOs observed bruises on his face. After the beating, the man reports, he was stripped naked and his hands tied. He was then made to leave, so he walked naked to the next village. The man reports that the soldiers also looted his home.

An UNMO patrol in Core on 8 September was told by two elderly Serb women that they had witnessed the looting of the village by both soldiers and civilians. They did not wish to leave their house out of fear it would be looted. They stated that the only house in the village was destroyed by withdrawing ARSK soldiers, as the owner of the house was a Croat.

**Sector North - Restrictions on Movement** Severe restrictions on movement are being imposed by Croatian authorities in Sector North. HRATs, UN CivPol and UNMOs all report that their activities are being curtailed because of such restrictions. Since 7 September, UNMOs have been denied access from the following areas: checkpoints northwest of Kostanjica, Ustica, Cajire, west of Brezova Glava, Rosulje, Rudici, Zrinj, M. Obljaj, and the road between Plaski and
Slunj. At one checkpoint, UNMOs were told by Croatian soldiers that they need to enter the restricted area because it was a purely Croat territory with Serbs.

12 SEPTEMBER 1995, 1300 hrs.

**Sector South - Destruction of Property** The Croatian Defence Ministry said in a statement on 10 September that an investigation by civilian and military police had "revealed that criminal acts in the wider Knin area had been committed by civilians dressed in military uniform." The "criminal acts" were said to include break-ins, looting, arson, and unlawful moving into houses. Croatian authorities also said that legal proceedings would be initiated against the perpetrators.

On 8 September, a Human Rights Action Team (HRAT) found 5 elderly persons in the village of Mokro Polje. One of the residents told the team that HV soldiers had shot her two pigs and taken 5 of her cows, her tractor, her TV set, and her lawn-mower. The team also saw a house burning in Mokro Polje village.

On 11 September, CivPol observed one house on fire in Plavno and another in Smilicic. In Jagodninja, they found civilians looting houses. UNMOs observed one house burning in Podurljaj. An ECMM team saw burning houses in Cijaci and Korde.

**Sector South - Investigation of Deaths** An ECMM patrol in the hamlet of Vuki north of Osenovac recently found the bodies of two women 60-70 years old, who appear to have been shot and killed within the previous day. A Human Rights Action Team, with an ECMM guide, will investigate further today.

This weekend, a HRAT went to the village of Grubori, where six residents were killed in an action by Croatian force on 25 August. Despite the promises of Croatian authorities that a full investigation of this incident would be conducted, the team found two bullets plus casings on the blood-soaked floor of the bedroom of an 80-year-old man who had been killed in the action.

A HRAT found that the five new crosses have been added to the Gracac cemetery on 11 September, bringing the total number of marked fresh graves to 105. Only 17 of the crosses bear names of the dead.

**Sector South - Harassment, Intimidation and Disappearances**

On 11 September, in the village of M. Popina, an UNMO patrol was told by elderly people that HV soldiers disturb and harass them with sporadic firing in the night.

UNCivPol received a report from a local Serb living in the village of Mala Polaca that a couple of days earlier a Serb resident of 34 years was taken away by Policija without explanation. No information about his whereabouts or condition has been available since. UNCivPol had been denied access to the village of Mala Polaca during the days in which this incident is alleged to have occurred.
On 2 September, CivPol was informed by a female Serb resident of the village of Omicica near Gracac that her 76-year-old father was arrested by the Policija early August and removed to an unknown destination. She filed a complaint to Gracac Policija without any effect.

**Sector North - Destruction of property**  
On 11 September, a CivPol patrol observed one house burning in the village of Rakovica Brocana. Yesterday, UNMOs observed 21 newly burnt houses and 1 house still burning.

On 3 September, CivPol discovered a major dumping site of property belonging to departed Serbs 5 km northwest of Davor. Piles of all sorts of motor-vehicles and other personal belongings were seen spread over an area of 200m x 300m.

**Sector North - Violence and Intimidation**  
Yesterday, in the village of Plaski, UNMOs were told by a Serb women and her daughter that they were threatened to leave their house by refugees from Banja Luka.

CivPol reports that on 2 September, UN movement was restricted in the Lovca area while the HV was reportedly conducting a weapon-searching operation. When the restriction of movement was lifted, CivPol patrols entered the area and observed that the village was completely deserted. They saw a tractor loaded with looted property with two men, one armed with an automatic rifle and dressed in HV uniform, and two women on board. The group was stopping by the abandoned Serb houses. They told CivPol that they were robbing the Serbs in retaliation for similar actions by the Serbs against Croats.

On 4 September, a 76-year-old Serb woman living in Glina informed CivPol that her husband disappeared in early August. One night he stepped out to check the cattle but never returned. Another Serb woman living in the village of Zivkovice Kosa near Vojnic, told CivPol that on 12 August, her husband was taken by Croatian military police to Vojnic for interrogation and subsequently moved to Karlovac. Since then, she has had no news from him.
ANNEX  56

Public Statement of President Tudjman, according to HINA Article, Franjo Tudjman: Hour of return has come both for East Slavonia and Baranja, dated 28 August 1995

Source: Jovan Bošković, NDH drugi put -LUX Croatiae, Belgrade, 1999, pp. 378-379
Hina: Franjo Tudjman: Hour of return has come both for East Slavonia and Baranja, 28 August 1995.

Freedom Train that ran on the Zagreb-Knin-Split line for the first time after four years, departed from Zagreb at 8:07 a.m., yesterday. The train consisting of some twenty carriages, called “Freedom Train”, in which Croatian President, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, and his wife Anka, were playing host, carried approximately 500 passengers including high-ranking Croatian officials, members of the diplomatic corps accredited in Croatia, as well as numerous cultural and public life figures, and business people. The train was seen off from the main Zagreb terminal by the song: “Marijane, Marijane”, sang by many Zagreb residents.

“Karlovac was the city which was assigned a special task. It stood in defence of Croatia even when only “rubble” remained of the glorious Croatian Kingdom”, President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tudjman said addressing the dignitaries meeting the “Freedom Train” in Karlovac.

They have not accepted it and stood up against the Croatian state and the Croatian people. They did not want this state; they left, so “farewell to them”. Now, some irrational people whether in Croatia or in the world, are accusing us of ethnic cleansing. No! Both at the time of operation Storm, even 1 and the Croatian Government called on them to stay. However, they left. They left, without even taking they dirty underwear; they left and goodbye to them. And those from the international community who are accusing us even today, that we are torching Serbian houses in the liberated territories of Croatia should remember that it is a tenet from the Old Testament: An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth!

Oni to nisu prihvitali i podigli su svojo ruku na hrvatsku državu, na hrvatski narod. Nisu htjeli ovu državu, ostili su, sretan im put. Sada nam svijet, neki nerazumnji ljudi i u Hrvatskoj i u svijetu, predbacuju da mi vežimo etnička čekrenja. Ne! 1 u vrijeme ‘Oluje’ i ja i hrvatska vlada pozivali smo ih da ostane. Međutim, oni su ostili. Oštili su, a da nisu sobom ponijeli ni prijeve gaće, oštili su i sretan im put. A oni iz svijeta koji nam i danas predbacuju da palimo srpske kuće na oslobodjenim dijelovima Hrvatske, neka se prisijete da je upravo biblijsko načelo iz Staroga zavjeta - oko za oko, zub za zub!
ANNEX 57

UNMO HQ Sector South,
Summary of Humanitarian Violations,
DAILY SITREPS,
4 September - 4 October 1995
SUMMARY OF HUMANITARIAN VIOLATIONS
FROM HO SECTOR SOUTH
DAILY SITREPS (04 SEP 95 - 04 OCT 95)

- AT 041245B SEPT UNMO PATROL SAW 2 X CATTLE TRUCKS, APPROX 10 PEOPLE IN MILITARY UNIFORM COLLECTING CATTLE AT BJEOLO POLJE WK5950.

^UNMO PATROL FOUND 22 CIVILIANS IN GA OF VRHOVINE WK3266 AND 19 CIVILIANS AT WK2866 GA OF ZALUZNICA

- IN THE VILLAGES OF RIOANE XJ002660, TRIFUNOVICI XJ013650, BALICI XJ005655, FUPICI WJ995653, MARKOVAC XJ009676, MANOJOVICI XJ008682 PATROL SPOKE TO 40 SERBS WHO WERE OLD AND IN NEED OF FOOD AND MEDICAL HELP. COMMENT: HRAT HAVE BEEN INFORMED.

-FROM 040930-041300B 2 X BURNING HOUSES IN THE VILLAGES OF ZVERINAC WJ975675 AND BISULPIJA WJ982724.

-AT 04H00B DIGGING WAS OBSERVED AT GRACAC CEMETERY WK6901.

-AT 041515 UNMO PATROL FOUND THE BODY OF AN 82 YEAR OLD WOMAN SHOT THROUGH THE HEAD TWICE IN HER CAR AT BABICI HAMLET WJ828810. THE PATROL HAD SEEN HER ALIVE ON FRIDAY 01 SEPT. COMMENT: UN CIVPOL AND HRAT HAVE BEEN INFORMED AND WILL INVESTIGATE. FULL REPORT TO FOLLOW.

- AT 051130B SEP AT BREZOVAC WK8222 UNMOS FOUND A BIG GRAVE IN FRONT OF A HOUSE, WHERE A HEAD, BACK SHOULDER AND ONE ARM OF A DEAD PERSON WAS SEEN. THE BODY WAS STILL NOT DISSOLVED, HAD NO HAIR AND WAS NAKED. THE SEX WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO JUDGE. ASSESSED TO BE MORE DEAD BODIES FN THE SAME GRAVE. WILL BE INVESTIGATED ASAP.

-AT 051130B SEP FOUND 4 X OLD SERBS AT MEDICI WJ900685 AGED BETWEEN 65-75. ONE COUPLE WERE IN VERY POOR HEALTH AND IN NEED OF MEDICAL ASSISTANCE. COMMENT: THE RED CROSS IN DRNIS WERE INFORMED.

-AT 051230B AT BOBODOL WJ888715 2 X OLD SERB WOMEN WERE FOUND IN VERY POOR CONDITION. THIS WAS REPORTED TO THE RED CROSS AS THEIR LIFE MAY BE IN DANGER FROM LACK OF FOOD AND POOR CONDITIONS.

- AT 051450B OBSERVED 1 X HOUSE BURNING IN PLVNO AREA WJ9292.

- AT 061435B SEP 95 AT KARLOVAC WJ5472 PATROL SAW 4 X HOUSES BURNING.
AT 061400B SEP PATROL VISITED VUJIC WJ0771. THE 6 CIVILIAN SERBS WHO WERE PRESENT AT 301700B WERE NO LONGER PRESENT. THE PRESENCE OF RECENTLY SHOT LIVESTOCK WAS NOTED.

AT 061500B SEP PATROL VISITED DURICI XJ0674 THE OLD SERB LADY SEEN AT 311700B AUG WERE NO LONGER PRESENT.

- BETWEEN 060930B AND 061130B SEP UNMO PATROL REGISTERED IN PLAVNO AREA, WJ9491, 48 SERBIAN PEOPLES WITH NAME, DATE OF BIRTH AND LOCATION.

- AT 061330B SEP OBSERVED AT UGRICIC, WJ8275, IN COMPOUND OF THE KENYA COY THE SURRENDER OF Mladan Matic, BORN 23 JULY 1968, TO THE LOCAL CA-POLICE UNDER THE CONTROL OF UNMO AND UN-CIVPOL. BADIC JOVAN, BORN 1922, IS STILL IN THE KENYA COY.

- ALL HOUSES IN AREA FROM DURICI WK560463 TO PODLAPAC WK500379, AND 80% OF THE VILLAGES ARE BURNT AND NO CIVILIANS ARE SEEN.

- FROM G. PLOCA WK530215 TO BRESTANE WK510335 THE VILLAGES ARE 100% LOOTED BUT NOT BURNT.

AT 071255B UNMO SAW 1X HOUSE ON FIRE AT WK517232.

A TOTAL OF 33 SERBS WERE GIVEN FOOD TODAY. IN THE VILLAGE OF ORLIC XJ001687 20 SERBS WERE MET WHO INFORMED THE PATROL OF A TOTAL OF 90 IN THE VILLAGE. IN THE SAME VILLAGE A MAN ORUKALO TODE TOLD OF TWO MEN BEING KILLED BY HV SOLDIERS BOTH BURIED NEAR TO THEIR HOMES, MARIC Todor AND SIMIC PREDrag. OTHER ACCOUNTS WERE GIVEN OF HARASSMENT AND LOOTING BY THE HV AGAINST A MAN, URUKALO Dusan (77) AND A WOMEN (73) URUKALO DRAGINA. COMMENT: ALL INFO PASSED TO HRAT.

AT 071400B AT RUPE WJ757606 A VILLAGE CONSISTING OF 220 HOUSES COMPLETELY DESTROYED IN 1991. CROATIAN REFUGEES ARE NOW RE-BUILDING.

AT 071400B AT THE VILLAGES OF DURICI XJ0674 AND VUJIC XJ0771 THE 7 ELDERLY SERBS PREVIOUSLY SEEN WERE NO LONGER PRESENT. AND CIVILIANS WERE SEEN WHO SAID THEY WERE LOOKING FOR THEIR STOLEN BELONGINGS.

AT 071528B 2X HOUSES BURNING AT JOSEVICA WK8820
-AT 071534B 1X HOUSE JUST BURNED DOWN AT ZALUZJE WK8818
-AT 071542B 1X HOUSE BURNED AT RISTICI WK9114

BETWEEN 071100 AND 071330B SEPT UNMO PATROL VISITED TOGETHER WITH CALO-TEAM KNIN (COLONEL KRESIMIR DRAGIC) IN MUSICA STANOVI...
THE REMAINING SERBIAN PEOPLE TO CONFIRM THE PRESENCE OF FORMER ARSK SOLDIERS, HOWEVER NONE WERE PRESENT.

- BETWEEN 071430B AND 071630B SEPT UNMO PATROL REGISTERED IN GRMUSE WJ9388 AND KRIPOSJE WJ9388 10 X PERSONS.

- UNMO PATROL VISITED THE FOLLOWING VILLAGES: DRAGANIC(WK521232), STULIC(WK 512237), ORLOVICI(WK 503245), MOGORIC(WK 480260) AND ILINAC(WK 478269).

- AT ORLOVICI UNMOS MET LOCAL SERBS: JURO RADOVIC(1927), ELENA RADOVIC(1950) AND SOKA RADOVIC(1945) WHO INFORMED THEM THAT THERE ARE FIVE MORE SERBS LIVING IN THE VILLAGE. NO MEDICAL ASSISTANCE WAS REQUIRED.

- AT 081100B UNMOS MET TWO SERBS IN ILINAC WK 478269: LUBAMAR(1927) AND MARIA RADACOVIC(1930) WHO INFORMED THEM THAT THERE ARE TWO MORE ELDERLY WOMEN IN THE VILLAGE. COMMENT: UNMOS WERE TOLD THEY HAD BEEN WELL TREATED BY CROAT CIVPOL.

- 080930B SEP VISITED THE VILLAGE GLOGOVO WK7507 AND PROVIDED FOOD TO SERB CIVILIANS. 10 MIN AFTER THE PATROL, A CROATIAN POLICE PATROL ARRIVED AND ALSO PROVIDED THE PEOPLE WITH FOOD WHICH THEY STATED THEY WERE DOING EVERY SECOND DAY.

- 081230B SEP AT WK741116 DISCOVERED 1 x DEAD MALE BODY IN AN ADVANCED STATE OF DECOMPOSITION. (APPROX 3 x WEEKS).

- AT 081530B SEP FOUND IN GOLUBIC, HAMLET KABLARI (WJ962828) THE DEAD BODY OF KABLAR ZORKA, FEMALE, DEAD FOR APPROX 23 DAYS. (REPORTED TO THE UN CIVPOL.)

- AT 081000B SEP AT RIDANE XJ02655 FOUND 1 x DEAD BODY (GRUBNIC TODE, 44 YRS MALE, FORMER RSK SLDR). UNMOS WERE INFORMED BY TRIFUNOIC LBUCA, WHO LIVES IN THE VILLAGES THAT HE WAS KILLED BY CA-SLDR TWO WEEKS AGO. PTL WAS INFORMED THAT HE CAME TO HIS HOUSE FROM DINARA OWNTAINS THREE WEEKS AGO. UN-CIVPOL IN KNIN INFORMED.

- IN ABOVE MENTIONED VILLAGE PTL MET 1 x WOMEN AND HER 2 x CHILDREN. THE WOMEN INFORMED THAT ALMOST EVERY DAY CA-SLDRS COMES TO HER HOUSE AND TAKES GOODS BELONGING TO HER. SHE HAS ALSO BEEN ORDERED TO LEAVE THE HOUSE.

- AT 081100B SEP AT BISKUPJA WJ9871 PTL MET OLD WOMAN THAT STATED THAT THE CA-SLDRS HAD TAKEN FOOK AND MONEY FROM THE FEW OLD WOMEN LIVING IN THE VILLAGE. SHE ALSO STATED THAT THE
CA-SLDRS CONTINUES TO COME TO THE VILLAGE AND TAKES THINGS FROM THE LEFT PEOPLE.

- AT 091545B SEP AT VUKAVO WK385407 OBSERVED 1 x BURNING HOUSE.

- AT 091600B SEP IN DOBROSELO WK830262 OBSERVED DESTROYING OF THE WORLD WAR II MONUMENT BY CA SLDRS.

- IN FOLLOWING VILLAGES: SRB WK8913, D. SUVAJA WK8818, BROTNJA WK8921 PTL. OBSERVED LOOTING OF HOUSES BY CA SLDRS.

- BETWEEN 091400B AND 091600B SEP PTL REGISTERED 6 x SERB PEOPLE IN KANAZIRI WJ7979 AND ORGANISED THE EVACUATION OF 1 x 82 YRS OLD SERB LADY TO KNIN HOSPITAL.

- UNMO TEAMS CONTINUE TO REGISTER LEFT SERB PEOPLE FOUND IN THE VILLAGES AN PROVIDES THE NECESSARY FOOD AND AID. THEY REPORT ABOUT PEOPLE IN URGENT NEED OF FOOD AND MEDICAL HELP IN SOME VILLAGES. CROP AND HAY STOCK HAS BEEN DESTROYED.

- AT 101205B AT NETEKA WK8915 OBSERVED 2 x HOUSES BURNING, AND AT RISTICI WK9114 4 x HOUSES BURNING.

- AT 100850B SEP PTL EVACUATED AN OLD WOMAN FROM KANAZIRI WJ8079 WITH THE HELP OF KNIN MEDICAL STAFF TO THE KNIN HOSPITAL.

- AT 101000B SEP VISITED PODINARJE XI0778, PLAVNO WJ9288, MOKRO POLJE WJ8179. THE PEOPLE IN THESE VILLAGES ARE STILL EXPRESSING FEAR DUE TO PRESENCE OF HV SLDRS IN THE AREAS.

- UNMO TEAMS CONTINUE TO VISIT VILLAGES FOR RECORDING PEOPLE AND DISTRIBUTING FOOD. THE UNMOS RECEIVE COMPLAINTS ALMOST EVERY WHERE THEY GO FROM REMAINING SERBS ABOUT CA-SLDRS VISITING THE VILLAGES, LOOTING, THREATENING AND HARASSMENT.

- AT APPROX 111030B PTL HEARD REPORTS OF 10 SERBS LIVING IN FRKASIC WK6349 AND DEBOLO BDKO WK5445.

- AT 111100B AT CIVILJANE XI1165 5 OLD SERBS AND 1 CROAT. 2 OF THE 5 HAD BEEN HIDING FOR 5 WEEKS. PATROL ENCOURAGED THEM TO MAKE CONTACT WITH ANY OTHER SERBS IN THE AREA.

- AT 111030B UNMOS OBSERVED 1 X HOUSE BURNING AT PODURLJAJ WJ8810. UNMOS PROVIDED FOOD TO THE PEOPLE OF PETROVICI WK7512 BUT THEY ARE IN URGENT NEED OF FLOUR. THEIR CROPS AND HAY STOCK ARE DESTROYED. COMMENT: A FULL CONTAINER OF UNHCR AID IS STRONGLY REQUESTED FOR DIST IN TEAM AOR.

- AT 111105B IN THE VILLAGE OF M POPNA (WJ 8498) UNMO PTL WAS
INFORMED BY THE OLD PEOPLE THAT HV SLDS DISTURB AND HARASS THEM WITH SPORADIC SA FIRING IN THE NIGHT.

-AT 111510B UNMO PTL ASSISTED THE CIV AFFAIRS TO EVACUATE 3 X OLD PEOPLE FROM KANAZIRI (WJ 795800) TO THE KNIN SCHOOL. THOSE EVACUATED INCLUDED KANAZIR SOKA (85 YRS), KANAZIR MARTA (82 YRS) AND TRIVIC MARA (85 YRS).

-AT 111510B UNMO PTL ASSISTED THE CIV AFFAIRS TO EVACUATE 3 X OLD PEOPLE FROM KANAZIRI (WJ 795800) TO THE KNIN SCHOOL. THOSE EVACUATED INCLUDED KANAZIR SOKA (85 YRS), KANAZIR MARTA (82 YRS) AND TRIVIC MARA (85 YRS).

-AT 120930B SEP 95 UNMO PTL OBSERVED ALONG MAIN ROAD KORENICA WK5654 AND PRIJEBOY WK 5265, WORKERS DIGGING AND LAYING ELECTRICAL CABLES.

-AT 121000B SEP 95 UNMO PTL MET IN MUKINJE WK4969 6 X PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THAT VILLAGE. 3 X MEN STATED THAT DURING OFFENSIVE THE FIRST SLDRS WHO ENTERED HIS HOUSE WERE MOSLEMS AND THEY LOOTED EVERYTHING.

-UNMO PATROL MET AN OLD LADY FN D. LAP AC WHO RETURNED TO HER HOUSE ON 10 SEP. SHE STATES LOCAL POLICE HAS GIVEN HER ENOUGH FOOD AND WATER SUPPLY AS REQUIRED. THE POLICE WILL FIX THE ELECTRICITY IN HER HOUSE ON 13 SEP. SHE ALSO INFORMED UNMOS THAT SHE HAS NO PROBLEMS WITH LOCAL POLICE OR CA AND SHE WOULD LIKE TO STAY IN D.LAP AC.

-AT 121030B SEPT, PATROL VISITED CERANJE GORNJE WJ4242 AND WAS TOLD THAT KARAN DUSAN (50) AND HER HUSBAND KARAN ANDA (60) WERE ATTACKED BY 2 HV SOLDIERS WHO THREW A GRENADE INTO THEIR HOUSE. THEY WERE NOT INJURED. CIVPOL AND UNMOS HAVE BOTH VISITED THE SCENE AND CONFIRMED THE DAMAGE. COMMENT:REPORTED TO HRAT.

-IN THE VILLAGE OF STRPCI WJ762720 PATROL FOUND THE BODY OF STRIP AC MIRKO (70) IN THE COURTYARD OF HIS HOUSE, IN ADVANCED STATE OF DECOMPOSITION.

-AT RELICI WJ758737 PATROL FOUND THE BODY THOUGHT TO BE OF KOROLJA DUSAN IN A WELL. PASSED ONTO CIVPOL, PEOPLE STILL COMPLAIN ABOUT HARRASSMENT/LOOTING BY CA SOLDIERS. (BODIES FOUND BY UNMOS-M0000824 AND M0001406)

-AT 131400B UNMOS MET 3 SERB LADIES. THEY INFORMED UNMOS THAT THEY HAD BEEN PAID A VISIT BY RED CROSS, AND THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE CROATIAN ID-CARDS. PERKA OBRADOVIC STATED THAT SHE HAD A DAUGHTER IN OSIJEK. THEY WERE IN NEED OF FOOD.
- BETWEEN 131100B AND 131600B UNMO PTL VISITED AND DISTRIBUTED UNHCR FOOD TO THE PEOPLE IN THE PLAVNO AREA.

- AT 131430B UNMO PTL LOCATED 3 X CHILDREN AND 4 X OLD PEOPLE THESE PEOPLE HAVE NOT BEEN IN CONTACT WITH ANYBODY SINCE OP OLUJA (STORM). UNMO PTL WILL LOOK FOR MORE PEOPLE IN GEN AREA TOMORROW.

- PATROL FOUND A TOTAL OF 33 SERBS IN 6 VILLAGES AND ISSUED UNHCR AID.

- UNMO PATROL* W.A? INFORMED BY SERB CIVILIANS THAT HV SOLDIERS AND CROAT CIVILIANS CAME TO THE VILLAGE ALMOST EVERYDAY TO TAKE LIVESTOCK. COMMENT: FULL DETAILS GIVEN TO HRAT.

- INFO RECEIVED ON 8 SERB SOLDIERS WHO SURRENDERED: THE INDIVIDUALS ARE SPREAD AMONGST THE COUNTY COURT IN SPLIT AND ZADAR AWAITING INVESTIGATION.

- AT 120945B IN THE VILLAGE OF BRADASI W9477 UNMO PTL WAS INFORMED BY ROSA BRADAS THAT HER HOUSE WAS LOOTED BETWEEN 1000 AND 1200 HRS ON 11 SEPT. SHE WAS AT THAT TIME IN KNIN TO REGISTER AND GET HER ID PAPERS. SHE LIVES IN ZAGROVIC NO 154.

- AT 120950B UNMO PTL OBSERVED LOOTING OF ONE HOUSE IN BRADASI W9477 BY PEOPLE DRESSED IN UNIFORM AND DRIVING IN CAR NO SI-702-U AND SI-600-L.

- UNMOS MET TWO OLD MEN AND ONE OLD LADY WHO REPORTED HAVING BEEN BEATEN AND HAVING PROPERTY STOLEN. COMMENT: REPORTED TO CROPOL.

- AT 141400B PATROL TOOK AN OLD MAN TO CZEBAT FOR MEDICAL ATTENTION.

- AT 141255B SEP AT UNMO MET SERB OLD MAN AND HIS DAUGHTER. WHEN UNMOS ARRIVED THERE CROATIAN AUTHORITIES WERE LEAVING. THE MAN STATED THAT THEY HAD TRIED TO TAKE HIS SHEEP. BUT HE SAID THEY WERE HIS AND THE AUTHORITIES LEFT WHEN UNMOS WERE SEEN. UNMOS ALSO MET WITH A SERB MAN WHO HAD RECENTLY RETURNED TO THE AREA FROM ZAGREB.

- AT 141030B SEP AT WK 733 364 UNMOS MET ONE OLD SERB MAN WHO SAID HE NEEDED SOME FOOD SUPPLIES AND MEDICINE BUT WAS TREATED OK BY LOCAL POLICE AND HV.

- UNMOS VISITED THREE VILLAGES IN THEIR AOR. PEOPLE ARE IN URGENT NEED OF FOOD. DETAILED REPORT WILL BE SENT TO HRAT.
-AT 144105B UNMOS OBSERVED 1X HOUSE BURNING AT M. POPINA WJ8498.

-AT 141100 UNMOs VISITED THREE PEOPLE IN THE AOR AND DELIVERED FOOD FOR THESE PEOPLE. A SERB FEMALE SAID SOMEBODY SHOT AT HER HOUSE LAST NIGHT AT 132100B. UNMOs CONFIRMED THE LOCATION OF THE BULLETS IN THE HOUSE. THE CIVPOL ARRIVED AT THE HOUSE THIS MORNING TO INVESTIGATE. COMMENT: SEEMS TO BE MORE HARASSMENT DIRECTED TOWARDS SERB CIVILIANS.

-AT 141000B UNMO PTL VISITED A HAMLET CALLED ALAVANJE (WJ504832) AND "FOUND THREE ELDERLY SERB LADIES. THE PTL DELIVERED FOOD AND THE WOMEN INFORMED THE UNMOs THAT THE 3X SOLDIERS ARE VISITING THE VILLAGE AND DELIVERING THEM FOOD.

-AT 141130B SEPT 95 UNMO PTL VISITED THE VILLAGE OF ZELICI (WJ 885726). UNMO PTL ALSO VISITED THREE VILLAGES AND DISTRIBUTED FOOD TO THE OLD PEOPLE THERE. NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES WERE OBSERVED. IT IS BELIEVED THAT THE CONTINUOUS RAIN STOPPED VILLAGERS FROM MAKING THEMSELVES KNOWN TO THE PATROL. NO CIVIL OR MILITARY PERSONS WERE IN THOSE VILLAGES. VISIT TO SITE OF POSS FUTURE MASS GRAVE (REF DSR 011230B SEP) HOLE IS STILL OPEN AND EMPTY.

-AT 151230B AT PLITVICA WK4771 CIVILIAN AND MILITARY PEOPLE LOOTING HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES AND LIVESTOCK.

-BETWEEN 150900B AND 151600B UNMO PTL ASSISTED CIV AFFAIRS WITH EVAC 11X PEOPLE FROM PLAVNO AREA AND 26 PEOPLE FROM PODI NARJE TO THE SCHOOL FN KNIN.

-AT 152000B IN GEN AREA MUSICI STANNOVIX0878 WHILE UN BUS WITH FIRST SERBS WAS WAITING FOR OTHERS TO COME UNMOs HEARD TWO SA SHOTS APPROX 300 METERS AWAY. AFTER 10 MINS ONE MAN CIV WITH AK AND ONE IN CA UNIFORM FN A CIV VEH WITHOUT PLATE NUMBER PASSED THE UN BUS. COMMENT: THIS WAS CONSIDERED A SUSPICIOUS COINCIDENCE AND THE UN MILPOL WERE TASKED AS AN ESCORT.

-AT 151530B AT MIOCIC WJ992595, 2 SOLDIERS AND 2 CIVILIANS WERE SEEN LOOTING A HOUSE. VEHICLE REG NUM RH5995. IN THE SAME VILLAGE 2 SOLDIERS WERE SEEN LOADING A TRACTOR WITH COLLECTED EQUIPMENT.

-AT 151330B IN RUDELE WJ782752, ONE CIVPOL, BADGE NUM 08915 AND 2 CIVILIANS LOOTING FURNITURE. ON ARRIVAL THE CIVIVI DROVE OFF IN THEIR TRUCK. THE POLICEMAN SAID HE DID NOT STOP THEM AS IT WAS OUT OF HIS JURISDICTION.

-AT 0900HRS IN GENERAL AREA ZALUZNICA WK2866 PTL MET 4 LOCAL
SERBS. FOOD WAS GIVEN TO THEM. PTL TOOK 2 ELDERLY PEOPLE (MALE AND FEMALE) TO THE OTOCAC HOSPITAL.

-AT 1100HRS AT BIGE WK3867 PTL MET 2 SERB REFUGEES WHO HAVE RETURNED AFTER 34 DAYS. PTL PROVIDED SOME FOOD TO THEM.

-BETWEEN 1150HRS AND 1415HRS PTL OBSERVED IN AOR 32 BUSES FULL OF REFUGEES ESCORTED BY UN AND CROPOL HEADING NORTH.

-AT 1445 AT TRNAVA POLIANA (WK 692 796), UNMOs MET AN ELDERLY SERB MAN LIVING IN THE VILLAGE. HE WAS PHYSICALLY WEAK AND SUFFERS FROM ASTHMA AND ULCERS. HE SAID THAT DURING OP STORM, HE WAS BEATEN BY HV SOLDIERS, BUT SINCE THEN THE HV HAVE GIVEN HIM FOOD AND WOOD. HE HAS BEEN ISSUED A CROATIAN ID CARD, BUT WOULD ALSO LIKE TO GET A CROATIAN PASSPORT. HE IS IN CURRENT NEED OF MEDICAL ATTENTION. HIS FAMILY IS IN SERBIA, BUT HE DOES HAVE RELATIVES IN ZAGREB AND WOULD LIKE TO GO THERE.

-AT 1400 HRS UNMO PTL VISITED A SERB FAMILY IN BENKOVAJ. UNMOs INFORMED THE FAMILY ABOUT THEIR DAUGHTER WHO IS AN INTERPRETER.

-AT 1425 HRS UNMO PTL VISITED NUNIC, WI 6374, AND FOUND A LADY THAT DISCUSSED WHO LIVED IN THE VILLAGE AND WHAT THEIR NATIONALITIES WERE. THE PTL CAME ACROSS ANOTHER FAMILY WHO CONFIRMED THAT THERE WERE 26 SERBS AND 28 CROATS IN THE VILLAGE. ALL THESE PEOPLE WENT TO ZADAR BEFORE OP STORM AND MOVED BACK TO NUNIC ON 19 AUG 95.

-BETWEEN 0430 AND 1100HRS UNMOs PARTICIPATED IN THE FINAL EVACUATION OF 320 PEOPLE FROM THE KLINN SCHOOL TO SECTOR EAST. AMONG THESE PEOPLE WERE THE 40 PEOPLE Brought TO THE SCHOOL FROM PLAYNO, MOKRO POLJE AND PODINARJE.

-UNMO PTL VISITED THREE VILLAGES: VUIASINOVICI WI 798759, UGRICICI WI 805745, AND BJELANOVAJ WI 770690. PTL DELIVERED FOOD ITEMS TO OLD PEOPLE IN THE VILLAGE OF BJELANOVAJ. NO PEOPLE WERE OBSERVED IN THE OTHER TWO VILLAGES. CROAT CIVILIANS WERE OBSERVED IN THOSE VILLAGES COLLECTING DOMESTIC ANIMALS, FURNITURE AND ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT FROM THE ABANDONED HOUSES. THE LOOTERS HAD CARS WITH LIC PLATES ZD-127-B AND SI 710-BD.

-BETWEEN 1100 AND 1300 UNMO PTL VISITED THE VILLAGES OF VARJODJE WI 705673, BIVOVICINO SELO, WI 733 780 AND OPACICI, WI 721774 AND DELIVERED FOOD TO CITIZENS ALREADY KNOWN TO INHABIT THE VILLAGE. NO NEW VILLAGERS WERE FOUND IN THE AREA.

-AT 1000HRS UNMO PTL VISITED BORCOVICI XJ2358 BUT NO CITIZENS
WERE SEEN. OUT OF 8 HOUSES IN THE VILLAGE, 6 WERE PARTIALLY DAMAGED AND 2 TOTALLY DESTROYED. ALL THE HOUSES WERE LOOTED. FRESH GRAVES WERE OBSERVED.


-AT 1155HRS PTL VISITED ZEZEVICI XI1764. HALF OF THE HOUSES IN THE VILLAGE ARE DESTROYED, BUT CROATIAN CITIZENS WERE OBSERVED REBUILDING THEIR HOMES.

-AT 1225HRS PTL VISITED MATKOVINE XI1862 AND OBSERVED THAT HALF OF THE HOUSES IN THE VILLAGE WERE DESTROYED BUT CROATS ARE RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES.

-UNMO PTL VISITED THE CHURCH FN DRAGOVICI XI2158. THE POLICE ARE PROVIDING SECURITY AT THE CHURCH. UNMOS WERE ALLOWED TO GO INSIDE THE MAIN BUILDING ONLY; OTHER PORTIONS COULD NOT BE SEEN BECAUSE OF CROATIAN POLICE RESTRICTIONS. APPARENTLY THE REASON FOR THE RESTRICTION IS THAT THERE ARE MANY PRECIOUS OLD BOOKS IN THAT LOCATION.

-AT 170940B SEP UNMO PTL OBSERVED AT BORJE WK5457 1 X LIGHT CIV TRUCK (NO: PLATE P4 789 AF) WITH 5 X BARRELS ON HEADING NORTH. ASSESSED IT MIGHT BE USED FOR ARSONING.

-AT 171050B SEP UNMO PTL OBSERVED AT ZALUZNICA WK2966 1 X HV TRUCK WITH FURNITURE AND 3 X SLDRS HEADING TOWARDS SOUTH.

-PLITVICE NATIONAL PARK WAS REOPENED TO VISITORS 16 SEP 95. NO TROOPS IN PARK AREA, ONLY "PLITVICE CIE" IN KORANA WK7548. COMMENT: THIS IS AN INDICATOR REGARDING THE RETURN TO NORMAL LIFE IN NORTHERN PART OF THE SECTOR SOUTH. END OF COMMENT

-AT 171155B SEP UNMO PTL OBSERVED AT DNOPOLJE WK7336 3 X SERB OLD MEN AND 1 X OLD WOMAN. THEY RECEIVE REGULAR SUPPLY OF FOOD FROM LOCAL POLICE.

-BETWEEN 1220 AND 1300HRS UNMO PTL REGISTERED AT THE VILLAGES BAROVNICE AND BIJELICI (XI092) 4 X PERSONS AND PROVIDED THEM WITH FOOD, WASHING POWDER AND SOAP.

-BETWEEN 1400 AND 1700HRS UNMO PTL EVACUATED STANA POPOVIC
(BORN 1934) FROM THE VILLAGE POPOVICI (WJ 8282) TO KNIN-HOSPITAL AND AFTER MEDICAL TREATMENT BACK TO HER HOME. STANA POPOVIC WAS SEVERELY WOUNDED AT HER HEAD AND HER BACK BECAUSE SHE WAS BEATEN BY HER NEIGHBOUR.

COMMENT: THE SECURITY OF SERB POPULATION LEFT IN THE SECTOR, SPECIALLY IN MORKO-POLE WJ3833 AREA MUST BE GRANTED. CRO AUTHORITIES MUST BE PUSHED TO IMPROVE THIS SITUATION SINCE PEOPLE IN THIS AREA ARE BEING HARASSED DAILY BY CIVILIAN ARMED LOOTERS. END OF COMMENT.

-BTW 171030B-171400B SEP SEVERAL VILLAGES WERE VISITED AND FOOD WAS DELIVERED TO PEOPLE BUT NO NEW RESIDENTS WERE FOUND.

-AT 180945B AT BUDIMLJE WK5322 UNMOS SPOKE TO LOCAL VETERINERIAN WHO STATED, THAT THEY ARE GATHERING CATTLE IN ORDER TO SEND THEM TO SLAVONIA AND NEXT YEAR THEY WILL BRING THEM BACK.

-PATROL MET PEOPLE WHO STILL COMPLAIN OF HARASSMENT AND DISCOVERED ONE DEAD BODY AT RIDINE XI005659-DOKIC SIMO (76)

-PATROL NOTED APPROX 40 HOUSES DESTROYED IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS IN KOSORE XI1365.

-AT 190820B SEP INVESTIGATED 1 x HOUSE ON FIRE IN KNIN WJ974773. NO CASUALTIES OBSERVED. IT IS ASSESSED THAT THE HOUSE WAS SET ON FIRE BY NEIGHBOURS RETURNED TO THE AREA.

-AT 191100B SEP AT POPINA WJ843982 PTL WAS INFORMED BY THE RESIDENCE THAT THEY ON THE 18 SEP AT 2130 HRS WAS THREATENED AND HARASSED BY 3 x HV MIL POLICE MEN DRIVING 1 x HV JEEP REG NO "HV 162 VP". THEY WERE ALSO AD VICED TO LEAVE TO KNIN FOR THEIR SAFETY. (INCIDENT HAS BEEN REPORTED TO UN AND CRO CIVPOL).

-WHEN DISTRIBUTING FOOD TO REMAINING SERBS IN THE FOLLOWING VILLAGES BERICI, DURAEVICI, GRKINICI, ORLIC, PETROVICI AND POPRANJAK, PTL OBSERVED MEN IN CIVILIAN AND UNIFORMS LOOTING THE VILLAGES.

-OBSERVED IN THE FOLLOWING VILLAGES VUJEVIC, ERAKOVIC, KNIZEVIC, NEDARICI, DEVICI XI0562 OBSERVED APPROX 50 PEOPLE PRESENT (HALF OF THEM CROATS, HALF OF THEM SERB). PTL WERE INFORMED BY LOCALS THAT THE LOOTING IS ONLY GOING ON DURING THE NIGHT NOW, ASSESSED TO BE BECAUSE OF CROAT PEOPLE LIVING IN THE AREA NOW.

-AT 191200B SEP AT RIDANE XI005659 (SEE DSR 18 SEP) WHERE ONE DEAD BODY WAS FOUND ON THE 18 SEP. THE TEAM OBSERVED THAT THE MAN WAS SHOT BY RIFLE SHOT IN THE CHEST MORE THAN 10 DAYS AGO. THE TEAM MET AN OLD WOMAN (NEIGHBOUR) BUT SHE WAS NOT ABLE TO
GIVE ANY USEFUL INFORMATION, MAYBE BECAUSE OF THE PRESENCE OF SPECIAL MILITARY POLICE IN THE VILLAGE. (THEY WERE COLLECTING THE PIGS FROM THE VILLAGE).

- AT 191500B SEP AT MOKRO POLJE PTL WERE INFORMED BY 6 x REMAINING SERBS THAT MOKRO POLJE EVERY DAY ARE VISITED BY UNIFORMED MEN WHO HAVE GIVEN THE ORDER NOT TO LEAVE THE HOUSES OR PLOTS, BUT THE REMAINING SERBS CAN OBSERVE LOOTING OF THE NEIGHBORING HOUSES. THE REMAINING SERBS STATE THAT THE AREA EARLIER HAVE BEEN VISITED BY HV-SOLDIER THAT BEHAVED IN A CORRECT MANNER, BUT THEY BELIEVE THAT THE UNIFORMED MEN VISITING NOW ARE NOT REAL SOLDIERS. HRAT TEAM WHEN VISITING MOKRO POLJE OBSERVED SEVERAL CIVILIAN CARS (WITHOUT REG PLATES) WITH TRAILERS BEING LOADED WITH THINGS LOOTED FROM THE HOUSES. THE PEOPLE LOOTING HOUSES WERE BOTH FN CIV AND HV-UNIFORM.

- AT 201642B FN RAPAJIC WK497560, 2 X HOUSES BURNING BUT NO PERSONEL IN THE AREA.

- UNMO TEAM ZADAR/BENKOVAC REPORTED AT 20 AUG THAT PATROL VISITED SEVERAL VILLAGES IN ITS AOR AND FOUND SEVERAL ELDERLY SERBS TRYING TO REBUILD THEIR HOUSES HAVING RETURNED FROM THE DISPLACED PERSONS CAMP IN ZADAR.

- AT 201930B SEPT 95 AT ZRAJA VALLEY GRID WJ8498 AND M. POPINA GRID WJ843982 TEAM PTL ASSISTED UN CP/POL TO CONVEY PEOPLE TO KNIN FOR CROATIAN DOCUMENTATION.

- BETWEEN 201115B AND 201600B SEPT 95 AT PRIBUDIC GRID WJ8888 TEAM PTL VISITED AND DISTRIBUTED UNHCR FOOD TO THE SEVEN RESIDENTS FOUND IN THE VILLAGE YESTERDAY.

- BETWEEN 201400B TO 201630B SEP 95 TEAM PTL FOUND, REGISTERED AND NOTIFIED OFFICIALS OF NINE PEOPLE BETWEEN STRIMICA GRID XJ0191 AND GOLUBIC GRID WJ9784 THAT THEY WILL BE TRANSPORTED TO KNIN TOMORROW 21 SEP 95 FOR ISSUE OF CROATIAN DOCUMENTS.

- A REPRESENTATIVE OF DABAR WK246779, HAS INQUIRED ABOUT EVENTUAL ACTIONS BY HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES IN THAT AREA CONCERNING THAT AREA AS THE SITUATION THERE IS DIFFICULT AND PEOPLE (MAINLY ELDERLY SERBS) HAVE NO MEANS OF SURVIVAL THIS COMING WINTER.

- ON 21 SEP ATTEMPTED TO FIND OUT WHETHER THERE WAS A RED CROSS ORGANIZATION IN GRACAC OR NOT FROM THE LOCAL COMMUNITY OFFICE. THE TEAM WAS TREATED IN A HOSTILE MANNER. THE INFORMATION RECEIVED HOWEVER INDICATES THAT A RED CROSS AGENCY MAY START FUNCTIONING IN GRACAC FROM NEXT WEEK. THE GRACAC TEAM WILL INVESTIGATE AND CONFIRM NEXT WEEK.
- BETWEEN 210900B AND 211600B SEPT ESCORTED 17 x PERSONS FROM STRMICA WJ0191 AND GOLUBIC WJ9784 TO KNIN TOWNSHIP TO BE REGISTERED. DUE TO EARLY CLOSING OF OFFICES NOBODY SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING CROATIAN DOCUMENTS.

- AT 21 SEP IN GOLUBIC WJ9784 OBSERVED HARASSMENT OF CIVILIAN SERBS BY PEOPLE IN HV UNIFORMS AND DRIVING IN VEHICLE WITH HV REG PLATE. (ACTUAL REG NO HANDED OVER TO UN-CIVPOL).

- AT 220930B AT WK888082 UNMO PTL OBSERVED IX BUS, 3X CIVIL CARGO TRUCKS AND APPROX 40 HV SOLDIERS MOVING TOWARDS SRB WK8913. IT IS BELIEVED THAT-THEY WERE LOOKING FOR CATTLE TO CATCH.

- BETWEEN 220800B AND 221330B SEP 95 UNMO TEAM ESCORTED 22 PERSONS FROM STRMICA WJ0191 AND GOLUBIC WJ9784 TO KNIN TOWNSHIP FOR REGISTRATION BUT THEY WERE REFUSED. UNMO TEAM WAS INFORMED THAT THE TEAM AND THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE AT THE REGISTRATION CENTER FOR THE THIRD TIME. TEAM PODKONJE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS CROATIAN AUTHORITIES IN KNIN UNTIL THE REMAINING SERBIANS ARE ALL REGISTERED AND GIVEN CROATIAN DOCUMENTS.

- AT 231030B SEP IN KONCAREV KRAJ WK4563 OBSERVED A BIG BLOOD STAIN IN THE ENTRANCE OF A HOUSE. EVIDENCE OF REMOVAL OF A BODY WAS ALSO ASSESSED. THIS VILLAGE WAS VISITED APPROX 3 DAYS AGO AND STATED EVIDENCE WAS NOT FOUND AT THAT TIME. PTL SEARCHED THE SURROUNDINGS BUT COULD NOT FIND EVIDENCE OF GRAVES OR OTHER DETAILS OF CRIMINAL ACT. FURTHER INVESTIGATION WILL BE CARRIED OUT.

- AT 231345B SEP IN KARIN SLANA WJS04868 OBSERVED 1 x HOUSE BURNING.

- AT 231000B SEP AT TODONOVIĆ WJ0672 OBSERVED 1 x HOUSE BURNING.

- BETWEEN 231200B AND 231600B SEP ESCORTED UN MEDICINE AMBULANCE TO PROVIDE MEDICAL AID TO CIVILIAN POPULATION IN PLAVNO AREA WJ 9390 AND M. POPINA WJ8498.

- HV SLDR AND CROATIAN RELATIVES IN PLAVNO VILLAGE WJ9393 ASKED UNMO TEAM FOR HELP TO PROTECT REMAINING SERB POPULATION FROM LOOTERS.

- UNMO PROTECTED VILLAGE DRAGISICI WJ9089 WAS SEVERELY LOOTED BY 4 X PEOPLE IN UNIFORM DRIVING IN CAR WITHOUT LICENCE PLATE. FURTHER INFORMATION IN HRAT REPORT, INFORMATION WILL BE HANDED OVER TO UN-CIVPOL.

- AT 231030B SEP IN BJELANOVIC WJ7769 OBSERVED CIVILIANS LOOTING
GOODS AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS INTO A CIVIL TRUCK. REG No OF THE TRUCK WAS HANDED OVER TO UN CIVPOL.

- AT 231700B SEP IN SOVILJI WK7410 STABLES AROUND A PREVIOUSLY BURNED DOWN HOUSE WERE OBSERVED ON FIRE. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT THEY WERE SET ON FIRE HALF AN HOUR EARLIER. NO SIGNS OF ARSONISTS WERE OBSERVED ENTERING OR LEAVING THIS LOCATION.

- BETWEEN 241045B AND 241645B SEP 95 PTL SUCCESSFULLY EVACUATED 2 x OLD PEOPLE FROM MOKRO POLJE WJ8381 AND STRMICA XJ0191 FOR TREATMENT AT THE KNIN HOSP. THE PTL ALSO VISITED THE LEFT SERBIANS IN GOLUBIC AREA WJ 9683 AND PODINARJE XJ 0677.

- AT 251205B SEP IN KONCAREV KRAJ WK4464 OBSERVED 1 x MIL TRUCK, 1 x MIL CAR, WITH APPROX 6 x HV-SLDR, STATIONARY AND OPENLY LOOTING THE HOUSES. THE UNMO PTL WAS CONTROLLED BY THE HV-SLDRS AND ASKED FOR AUTHORIZATION FOR BEING IN THE AREA. UPON SHOWING THE 09 AUG AGREEMENT THE PTL WAS ALLOWED TO PROCEED. IN THE SAME VILLAGE PTL MET 1 x ELDERLY SERB WHO STATED THAT HV-SLDR HAD LOOTED HIS HOUSE TWO HRS BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE UNMO PTL. UNMO PTL HAVE VISITED THE PLACE EARLIER AND THE EVIDENCE OF LOOTING WAS OBSERVED.

- AT 251525B SEP IN TRNAVAC WK4455 PTL MET 2 x ELDERLY SERB WHO HAVE NOT BEEN OBSERVED BY EARLIER VISIT TO THE VILLAGE. THERE HAVE BEEN NO OTHER VISIT FROM HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES IN THE AREA.

- UNMO TEAM IN COOPERATION WITH CIV AFF ARRANGED REGISTRATION OF 22 x REMAINING SERBIAN PEOPLE FROM STRMICA XJ0091 AND GOLUBICI WJ9783 AREA.

- AT 250900B SEP OBSERVED 1 x HOUSE BURNING AT WJ9783

- AT 251600B SEP OBSERVED 1 x HOUSE BURNING AT XJ0092.

- AT 251600B SEP AT PRKOS WJ8382 OBSERVED 1 x DEAD BODY, MALE AGED APRROX 55 YRS, ASSESSED TO HAVE DIED NATURAL DEAD 3 x DAYS AGO.

- AT 251610B SEP AT PRKOS WJ8282 OBSERVED 1 x DEAD BODY, CIVILIAN MALE AGED APPROX 45 YRS, SHOT THROUGH HEAD APPROX 30 x DAYS AGO. NEIGHBOUR INFORMED THAT THE MALE HAD BEEN MENTALLY SICK.

- AT 251200B SEP AT KNIN POLICE-STATION 2 x OLD SERB PEOPLE FROM MOKRO POLJE, WAS ISSUED WITH THE CROATIAN ID-CARD WITH THE HELP OF HRAT.

- AT 261130B SEP ESCORTED 1 x ELDERLY SERB MALE FROM KONCAREV
KRAJ WK4464 TO THE MUNICIPALITY IN KORENICA FOR CROATIAN DOCUMENTS FOR PROPERTY, BUT WITH NO SUCCES FOR THE ELDERLY SERB.

- AT 261400B SEP VISITED FOLLOWING VILLAGES KULA ATLAGIC WJ4779, LISANJE TINSKE WJ3875, PODLUG WJ4973, POLACA WJ4174 TOGETHER WITH CHIEF OF ZADAR UN CIVIL AFFAIRS OFFICE. THE PTL DID NOT FIND ANY OF THE 9 x SERB WHO ARE ON THE LIST OF UNMO AND CIVAFF, BUT ACCORDING TO UN CIVAFF ZADAR THEY MOVED TO BENKOVAC WJ4976. IN THE VILLAGE POLACA WJ4174 THE HEAD OF MUNICIPALITY STATED THAT VISITS TO HIS AOR ARE NOT ALLOWED WITHOUT REQUEST TO HIM IN ADVANCE.

- BETWEEN 260900A AND 261230A SEP PTL DISCOVERED 5 x PEOPLE AT XI0289 AND 6 x PEOPLE AT XI0089. PTL ISSUED FOOD AND INFORMED THE PEOPLE ABOUT REGISTRATION SYSTEM. ICRC WAS NOTIFIED ABOUT ONE PERSONS NEED FOR MEDICAL CARE.

- BETWEEN 260955A AND 261 BOA SEP ASSISTED 1 x MAN IN EVACUATING FROM PODINARE AREA XI0677 DUE TO LOOTING AND BURNING OF HIS HOUSE. HE WAS TAKEN TO FRIENDS IN KNIN CITY.

- BETWEEN 261400A AND 262150A SEP VISITED PEOPLE IN POPOVICI WJ8282. THEY STATED THAT THEY HAD BEEN LOOTED TWICE SINCE OUR LAST VISIT ON SUNDAY 24 SEP.

- BOTH CIVILIAN AND PERSONS IN UNIFORM WERE OBSERVED LOOTING IN THE GENERAL AREA OF MOKRO POLJE WJ8282 TODAY. THEY WERE DRIVING IN CARS WITH REGISTRATION PLATES: ST 281 E, ZD 439 F AND SI 313 V.

- AT 261430A SEP VISITED 4 x PERSONS IN M. POFFNA WJ8496. THEY NEEDED CROATIAN DOCUMENTS. THEY ALSO INFORMED PTL THAT THEY WERE OFTEN DISTURBED BY HV-SLDS.

- AT 271005A SEP AT M. POLJE WJ8280, PTL WAS INFORMED BY THE SERB LIVING IN THE AREA THAT THEY NEED CROATIAN DOCUMENTS. PTL WAS ALSO INFORMED THAT HV-SLDRS CONTINUE TO HARASS AND LOOT THE AREA.

- AT 271300A SEP NEAR KNIN PTL FOUND AND RECORDED NAMES OF 10 x SERB PEOPLE, PTL DISTRIBUTED UNHCR FOOD.

- AT 271340A SEP PTL WAS INFORMED BY LOCAL SOURCE OF REMAINING SERB IN NEED, LIVING IN MATEJASI WJ0094. PTL WAS ESCORTED BY A CROATIAN CIVPOL OFF FROM STRMICA TO THE VILLAGE ACROSS THE BORDER. THE PTL DISTRIBUTED UNHCR FOOD TO 2 x SERB PEOPLE BUT WAS INFORMED BY THE CROATIAN CIVPOL OFF THAT THE PEOPLE CAN NOT GET CROATIAN DOCUMENTS BECAUSE THEY ARE ACROSS THE
GROUP OF 15 WHO HAD BEEN GIVEN SOME HOUSES IN KORENICA, BUT THEY HAD REFUSED DUE TO THE HOUSES CONDITION. AT THE MOMENT THEY OCCUPY HOUSES THEY HAVE FOUND THEMSELVES AND THEY ARE NOW AFRAID THAT THEY HAVE TO LEAVE THE HOUSES AGAIN.

- AT 301500A SEP IN GOLUBNJACA WK4873 OBSERVED A STORAGE OF FARMING TRAILERS/TOOLS. THE EQUIPMENT IN THE STORAGE IS ASSESSED TO BE FROM LOOTING IN THE NEARBY AREAS.

- CIVILIANS ARE STARTING TO SETTLE IN DJI LAPAC. THE NUMBER IS DIFFICULT TO STATE, DUE TO THE CONDITION OF THE DIFFERENT HOUSES. 80 TO 90 CIVILIAN PERSONS HAVE ARRIVED BY BUSES IN DJI LAPAC. THERE IS NOW A PUBLIC TELEPHONE IN DJI LAPAC.

- AT 30141 OA SEP IN BIRBISKI MOSTINE WJ6765 OBSERVED 1 x HOUSE BURNING.

- AT STRMICA WJ9986 OBSERVED 2 x HOUSES BURNING, RECENTLY SET TO FIRE. TALKING TO A NEARBY FAMILY UNMOS WERE INFORMED THAT NOBODY WAS LIVING IN THE HOUSES, BUT THE FAMILY WAS SCARED, AND THEY CLAIMED THAT THE CIVILIAN POLICE WAS OF NO HELP. COMING FROM THE AREA WITH THE BURNING HOUSE UNMOS OBSERVED 1 x TRUCK 1/2 TONS (COVERED, REG PLATE No. "DU 10601 PROBA"), WHITE PAINTED WITH ORANGE CANVAS. ALSO 1 x CIVILIAN SEDAN GREY PAINTED (REG PLATE "BU 727 AP") WAS OBSERVED. IN EACH OF THEM WAS OBSERVED 2 x MEN (ONE IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES, AND ONE IN UNIFORM WITH KALASNIKOV). PTL FOLLOWED THE VEHICLES TO KNIN. COMMENTS: THESE MEN IS ASSESSED TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ARSONING. THIS IS THE SAME PATTERN USED BY LOOTERS OPERATING ALL OVER THE AREA. THIS HAPPENED MINUTES AFTER UNMOS LEFT CIV POL STATION IN STRMICA, WHERE 6 x POLICE WAS SITTING DOING NOTHING.

- AT 011115A OCT AT M. POPINA WJ8498 PTL WAS INFORMED BY THE RESIDENTS FOUND ON 27 SEPT 95, THAT THEY WERE THREATENED BY PEOPLE WITH HV MIL POL. THE CASE WAS REPORTED TO THE UN CIV POL.

- AT 011145A OCT AT GOLOBIC WJ9784 DISTRIBUTED UNHR FOOD TO FOUR RESIDENCE WHO INFORMED THE PTL THAT THEY ARE DAILY LOOTED FOR FOOD, ANIMALS AND EVEN THE NEWLY ISSUED CROATIAN DOCUMENTS. THIS IS DONE BY CIVILIANS, MIL AND CIVIL POLICE. NOT UNMO CONFIRMED.

- AT 011300A OCT AT PLAYNO WJ9392 OBSERVED THAT THE RESIDENCE REQUIRES FOOD AND MEDICINE. THE PTL ALSO REPORTED TO CROATIAN CIVPOL, SOME CAR REG No. OF CARS OBSERVED IN THE AREA, SUSPECTED TO BELONG TO LOOTERS. UN CIVPOL WAS ALSO INFORMED.

- AT 101600A OCT AT BALJCI WJ5054 OBSERVED 1 x HOUSE ON FIRE. CIVPOL WAS OBSERVED NEAR THE HOUSE, AND WHEN ASKED IF THEY
KNOW WHO HAD SET IT ON FIRE, THEY ANSWERED THAT THEY DID NOT KNOW, BUT THERE WAS 2 x CIVILIANS IN THE AREA AND THEY HAD PROBABLY DONE IT.

- AT 021500A OCT IN ZRMANJA VALLEY BETWEEN PADENE WJ8782 AND OTRIC WJ8599 UNMO TEAM KNIN OBSERVED A CROATIAN SPECIAL POLICE OPERATION (HUNTING) INCLUDING APPROX 50 x VEHICLES. THE OPERATION WAS CONDUCTED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ROAD.

- 021100A OCT IN GA NUNIC WJ7177 FOUND 12 x REMAINING SERB. THEY HAD NOT BEEN VISITED SINCE THE BEGINNING OF "OPERATION STORM" AND ARE WITHOUT CROATIAN DOCUMENTS. A CRO CIVPOL OBSERVED CLOSE TO THE HAMLETS WERE INFORMED ABOUT THE NEED FOR DOCUMENTS, BUT HIS ANSWER WAS THAT THE REMAINING SERB PROBABLY HAVE SOME RELATIVES ON THE COAST WHO CAN PROVIDE THE NECESSARY HELP.

- THE TEAM WORKED FOR THE FIRST TIME TOGETHER WITH A MEDICAL TEAM FROM THE CZEBAK AND PROVIDED 85 x PEOPLE IN PLAUNO-AREA WITH MEDICAL HELP. (UNMO TEAM HOPES THAT THIS COOPERATION WILL CONTINUE). ALSO FOOD WAS DISTRIBUTED. 36 x PERSONS WERE FOUND AND REGISTERED FOR THE FIRST TIME.

- AT 021400A OCT SMO AND LO KNIN HELD A MEETING WITH CALO, KNIN. AMONGST OTHER POINTS FOLLOWING WAS DISCUSSED:

iv. THE ONGOING HARASSMENT AND LOOTING OF REMAINING SERB POPULATION. THE CALO INFORMED THAT HV AUTHORITIES ARE AWARE OF THE SITUATION WITH THE SERB POPULATION. HE ALSO STATED THAT CRO CIVPOL CAN DETAIN AND CHECK ALL CITIZENS OF CROATIA INCLUDING SERVICEMEN. ONLY HV AND POLICE MEMBERS IN COMPLETE UNIFORM AND WITH PROPER AUTHORIZATION CAN CARRY WEAPONS. HE ASKED UNMOS TO PASS ALL INFORMATION CONCERNING LOOTING TO THE NEAREST POLICE STATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

- UNMO HQ RECEIVED INFORMATION OF A MASSACRE THAT OCCURRED FN KISTANJE AREA ON 28 SEP 95, WERE 12 PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE BEEN KILLED. UN INVESTIGATED DURING THE DAY AND EVIDENCE FOUND, CLEARLY INDICATES THAT A CRIME HAS OCCURRED. THE INVESTIGATION WILL BE TAKEN OVER BY CIVAFF SS. (SPECIAL REPORT SENT UNMO HQ/ZAGREB).

SUBJ : VARIVODE INVESTIGATION 02 OCT 1995.

- ON 012100A OCT UNMO HQ RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM PIO SS, OF A POSSIBLE MASSACRE THAT SHOULD HAVE HAPPENED IN THE VILLAGE VARIVODE WJ7067 ON THURSDAY 28 SEP 95 IN THE EVENING. THE INFORMATION WAS THAT 12 x PEOPLE HAD BEEN KILLED.
- AT 012130A OCT UNMO HQ TOOK CONTACT WITH UN-CIVPOL IN ORDER TO SET UP A PATROL FOR EARLY MORNING 02 OCT, IN ORDER TO SECURE AND FIND EVIDENCE OF THE POSSIBLE CRIMINAL ACT.

- AT 020600A OCT INVESTIGATION PATROL, CONSISTING OF 2 x UN-CIVPOL, PIO AND 2 x UNMO, LEFT KNIN FOR VARIVODE.

- AT 020645A OCT INVEST. PATROL ARRIVED IN VARIVODE.

- THE TWO UN-CIVPOL HAD BEEN IN THE VILLAGE APPROX 10 x DAYS EARLIER, AND THE PATROL WENT TO A HOUSE WHERE 2 x WOMEN HAD BEEN VISITED. THE "7 x WOMEN WHERE NOT FOUND IN THE HOUSE BUT BLOODSTAIN WAS OBSERVED ON THE WALL AND ON THE GROUND IN THE ENTRANCE OF THE HOUSE.

- AT A NEIGHBOURING HOUSE TO THE TWO WOMEN, WAS OBSERVED AN APPROX 15 M LONG TRACK OF BLOOD. THE BLOOD-TRACK STARTED APPROX 15 M FROM THE WOMEN HOUSE AND WAS LEADING AWAY FROM IT.

- THE PATROL CONTINUED AND 1 x MALE (AGED APPROX 70 YRS) WAS FOUND AS THE ONLY ONE IN THE VILLAGE, AND WAS ASKED THE WHEREABOUT OF HIS NEIGHBOURS. THE PATROL DID NOT INFORM HIM OF ANY POSSIBLE CRIME. THE MAN COULD INFORM THE PATROL OF OTHER ELDERLY PEOPLE LIVING IN THE VILLAGE BUT HE DID NOT REMEMBER WHEN HE HAD SEEN THEM THE LAST TIME. THE MAN TOLD THAT HE NEVER WENT OUT OF HIS YARD, THAT WAS SURROUNDED WITH WALLS, AND HE DID NOT REMEMBER WHEN HE WAS LAST VISITED, EXCEPT FROM LOOTERS. THE MAN HAD NOT HEARD OR OBSERVED ANYTHING STRANGE IN THE LAST DAYS.

- IN THE ENTRANCE OF ANOTHER HOUSE WAS FOUND A BIG STAIN OF BLOOD TOGETHER WITH THE JACKET, ON THE WALL WAS FOUND A BULLET HOLE WITH BLOOD STAINS AROUND, ALSO ON THE WALL WAS FOUND A SMALL FRAGMENT CONSISTING OF HAIR, SKIN AND BLOOD. FROM THE FRAGMENTS IT IS ASSESSED THAT SOMEONE HAD BEEN SHOT STANDING IN THE ENTRANCE.

- IN OTHER 5 x HOUSES OR YARDS WAS ALSO FOUND BLOOD STAINS.

- IN AND AROUND THE AREA WAS FOUND SEVERAL PAIR OF RUBBER GLOVES WITH BLOOD ON.

- IT IS ASSESSED THAT THE NOON OF THE BLOOD-STAINS WERE MORE THAN 4 x DAYS OLD.

- WHEN INVESTIGATING IN THE VILLAGE THE PATROL MET 2 x MEN WHO INFORMED THAT ONE WAS COMING FROM THE CROATIAN PRESS (FERAL TRIBUNE), AND THE OTHER WAS THE CROATIAN REPRESENTATIVE FOR
"THE HELSINKI HUMAN RIGHT".

- THEY ASKED FOR INFORMATION ABOUT A CRIME, WHICH THEY HAD BEEN INFORMED OF FROM RELATIVES TO THE PEOPLE IN VARIVODE.

- THE INFORMATION THE TWO MEN COULD GIVE WAS FOLLOWING:

i. THEY HAD RECEIVED THE INFORMATION THAT ON 281730A SEP IN VARIVODE. 12 x CIVILIAN PEOPLE HAD BEEN KILLED, 1 x HAD BEEN RAPED, AND A WITNESS WAS NOW LIVING WITH RELATIVES IN SIBENIK.

ii. THE BODIES HAD BEEN REMOVED FROM THE VILLAGE AND BURRED EN KNIN SOMEWHERE. THEY ALSO WERE INFORMED THAT THE RELATIVES WANT THE BODIES BACK SO THE CAN BURY THEM ON KISTANJE GRAVEYARD.

iii. THEY HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT ONE OF THE VICTIMS HAD BEEN TREATED AND IS STILL ALIVE IN KNIN HOSPITAL.

iv. ONE OF THE MEN HAD VISITED THE VILLAGE ON THE 26 OR 27 SEP TOGETHER WITH AN SWEDISH JOURNALIST, AND THE PEOPLE HAD STILL BEEN IN THE VILLAGE.

v. DURING THE VISIT WITH THE JOURNALIST THERE WAS OBSERVED 1 x 3 TON TRUCK WITH A COVER, AND 1 x MAN IN BLACK UNIFORM WITH A BLUE HAIR-BAND. THE BLACK DRESSED MAN HAD STOPPED THEM FROM CONTINUING. (THE SWEDISH JOURNALIST WILL MAYBE HAVE PICTURES OF THE TRUCK AND THE BLACK DRESSED MAN).

vi. THEY WERE ALSO INFORMED THAT THE WITNESS HAD STATED THAT THE CRIME WAS DONE BY SLDRS WEARING BLACK DRESS.

- UNMO TEAM SIBENIK HAVE VISITED THE VILLAGE EARLIER, AND RECORDED AT THAT TIME 17 x PEOPLE LIVING THERE.

-AT 021515A OCT UNMO VISITED, TOGETHER WITH HRAT AND REPRESENTATIVE OF CRO HELSINKI COMMITTEE, KNIN HOSPITAL FN ORDER TO INTERVIEW AN EYEWITNESS TO A POSSIBLE MASS MURDER IN VARIVODE WJ7067. THEY SPOKE WITH THE HEAD DOCTOR OF THE HOSPITAL AND REQUESTED TO MEET THIS PERSON WHO WAS SUPPOSED TO BE IN THE HOSPITAL AS A PATIENT. THEY WERE TOLD BY DOCTOR AND HOSPITAL HEAD NURSE, AFTER CHECKING THE HOSPITAL RECORDS, THAT NO ONE BY THAT NAME IS, NOR WAS IN THE HOSPITAL. THE HEAD DOCTOR OF THE HOSPITAL STATED THAT THE ONLY PATIENTS FROM VARIVODE WERE BROUGHT IN ON THURSDAY 28 SEP AND THEY ARE STILL IN HOSPITAL. WHEN ASKED WHO THESE PEOPLE WERE, THE PTL WERE PROVIDED WITH THEIR NAMES, THAT WERE SHOWN ON TOP OF THEIR MEDICAL FILES. WHILE WRITING DOWN THEIR NAMES, IT COULD BE SEEN
ON THE FILES THAT THE DATE OF ARRIVAL TO HOSPITAL WAS 26 SEP. DURING THE WHOLE VISIT, IT WAS OBSERVED THAT THE DOCTOR WAS ACTING UNUSUAL NERVOUS.

- THE PATROL WERE ALLOWED TO SPEAK TO THESE PATIENTS WHO BOTH STATED THAT THEY HAD BEEN IN THE HOSPITAL SINCE TUESDAY LAST WEEK (26 SEP). FEMALE PATIENT WHEN ASKED IF SHE WANTED TO SEND A MESSAGE TO HER VILLAGE, SAID "NO, THERE IS NOBODY THERE" AND LATER SHE SAID "I CAN NOT SPEAK."

- UNMO TEAM SIBENBK HAVE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED AT THE END OF AUGUST 27 x PERSONS LIVING IN THE VILLAGE, AND ON THE 11 SEP 17 x PEOPLE.

- WHEN VISITING THE CEMETERY IN KNIN TODAY 9 x FRESH GRAVES WAS OBSERVED. ALL 9 x OBSERVED NAMES ON THE GRAVES, IS ALSO ON THE LIST FROM END OF AUGUST WITH 27 x NAMES. FROM THE LIST OF 11 SEP 6 x NAMES ARE SIMILAR. COMMENT: WHEN THE PEOPLE ARE RECORDED IN THE VILLAGES, PEOPLE ARE NOT ALWAYS PRESENT, AND SOME HAVE LEFT FOR RELATIVES IN THE COAST AREA, AND RETURNS BACK AFTER A WHILE.

- IN ADDITION TO THE 9 x NAMES OBSERVED ON THE CEMETERY, FOLLOWING 3 x PERSONS ARE MISSING: DECOKE MARIA, MILOSEVIC BOJA AND BERIC VUKOSAVY. THERE IS ALSO NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON THE WHEREABOUTS OF FOLLOWING PEOPLE: PERUVERIC ???, BRATIC ANTE, BRATIC ST AN A, DOBRJEVIC SPIRO, DOBRJEVIC MIKKO AND GAJICA SDRAGINJA. UNMO WERE INFORMED THAT DOBRJEVIC SIMEON A WENT TO HER RELATIVES IN SIBENDC.

- ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE INVESTIGATION REPORT TO THE VILLAGE:

- ON ONE OF THE SCENES OF A CRIME WHERE OBSERVED 3 x PIECES OF PAPER ( APPROX 2,5 CM x 9 CM) WITH A DRAWING OF AN ARROW, THE ARROWS WHERE USED ON THE WALL, WHERE IMPACT OF A SMALL CALIBRE PROJECTILE HAD HIT. ON ANOTHER SCENE WAS FOUND 1 x SIMILAR PIECE OF PAPER LAYING ON THE GROUND.

- NO CARTRIDGES OR HOLSTERS WHERE FOUND.

- THE AGE OF THE VICTIMS WERE IN MOST CASES ABOVE 60 YRS.

- FURTHER REPORTS WILL BE GIVEN BY CIV AFFAIRS SEC SOUTH.

- AT 031200A OCT IN KARIN PLAZA WJ4986 AND KARIN SLANA WJ5087 OBSERVED THAT BOTH VILLAGES ARE ABANDONED BY SERB CITIZENS. FEW CROAT FAMILIES FROM ZADAR HAVE MOVED INTO THE VILLAGES.
- AT 031210A OCT IN GRKINICI WJ9568 OBSERVED 3 x HV-SLDR COLLECTING HORSES INTO A TRUCK (REG NO "ST 345 DL"), THE TRUCK WAS ALSO OBSERVED IN THE SAME AREA THE DAY BEFORE.

- AT 031300A OCT IN BIOCIC WJ9861 OBSERVED 1 x MAN SEARCHING IN A HOUSE (ASSESSED TO BE LOOTER) VEHICLE FORD SIERRA "ST 655 DG".

- AT 031430A OCT ORTHODOX CHURCH IN ZVJERINAC WJ9767 OBSERVED THAT THE CHURCH HAS SUFFERED SMALL DAMAGE INSIDE, IT HAS BEEN TRIED TO SET IT ON FIRE WITH CLOTH ITEMS.

- AT 031445A OCT AT VUKOVICI X1369 OBSERVED 1 x HOUSE BURNING AND LOOTING WAS ONGOING IN THE VILLAGE.

- AT THIS DATE APPROX 900 x BOSNIAN REFUGEES FROM PULA (CAMP) ARE BEING RELOCATED IN THE AREA OF KORENICA. A TOTAL OF 1,500 x BOSNIAN REFUGEES ARE EXPECTED TO THE AREA.

- BETWEEN 040955A AND 041430A OCT PTL VISITED PLAVNO VALLEY TOGETHER WITH CO FST CZE BAT. 10 x UNREGISTERED PEOPLE WERE DISCOVERED IN OPACICI WJ9491, ALFEREVICI WJ9491 AND KURAJICE WJ9491. MEDICAL AID WERE OFFERED TO THE NEEDED.

- AT 041600A OCT DISCOVERED 2 x BARELS AND 4 x HAYSTACKS BURNING IN KOROLJE WJ7874. THE FIRE SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN ONGOING FOR APPROX 4-5 HRS. LOOTING IN THIS VILLAGE WAS STILL IN PROGRESS BY PEOPLE DRIVING 4 x CARS WITH REG PLATE: "ST 260 BE", "ZD 618 P", "ZG 415 SI" AND "SI 867 AB".

- AT 041100A OCT IN ZECVE KOERDE WJ6870 OBSERVED 1 x CAR WITH 1 x HV-SLDR, THE CAR (REG NO "ST 526 T") WAS FILLED UP WITH LOOTED ITEMS.

- AT 041330A WHEN VISITING THE ONLY MAN LEFT IN VARIVOJE, THE PLACE WHERE THE MASSACRE TOOK PLACE ON THE 28 SEP, HRAT WAS STOPPED OUTSIDE THE MANS HOUSE BY CROATIAN POLICE. THEY FIRST STATED THAT NOBODY WAS ALLOWED TO VISIT THE MAN. THEY ALSO INFORMED THAT THEY HAD ARRIVED AT 1210HRS TO PROTECT THE MAN (6 x DAYS AFTER THE MASSACRE WAS PERPETRATED), AND THEY EXPECTED AN AMBULANCE TO ARRIVE AND THE MAN WOULD BE TRANSPORTED TO KNIN HOSPITAL. AFTER NEGOSIATION THE HRAT WAS ALLOWED TO SEE THE MAN, AND HE EXPRESSED THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO GO TO ANY HOSPITAL. THE CROATIAN POLICE PROMISED THAT IF THE MAN, AFTER THE DOCTORS CONSULTATION STILL DID NOT WANT TO GO TO HOSPITAL, THEY WOULD LEAVE HIM IN HIS HOUSE. (COMMENT. THE MAN IS SICK AT NEED TO BE TREATED AT A HOSPITAL). HRAT OBSERVED THE CROATIAN POLICE STAND AND 4 - 5 PEOPLE WERE TAKEN TO THE LOCAL POLICE STATION, BECAUSE THEY WERE CARRYING WEAPONS.
ANNEX 58

UNMO HQ Sector South & Human Rights Activities Team (HRAT), Survey Report on the Humanitarian Rights Situation in Sector South,
4 October-4 November 1995
(drafted by Major Peter Marti and Captain Kari Anttila)
TO: UNMO HQ ZAGREB
FROM: UNMO HQ SECTOR SOUTH, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES TEAM (HRAT)
DRAFTED BY: MAJ PETER MARTI, SLO HRAT, CAPT KARI ANTILLA, LO HRAT
RELEASED BY: MAJ PETER MARTI, SLO HRAT
DTG: 041200A NOV 95
SUBJECT: SURVEY REPORT ON THE HUMANITARIAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN SECTOR SOUTH, 04 OCT 95 - 04 NOV 95

FACTS.
Shortly after the Croatian operation "Storm" in Sector South, on 08 August 1995, the UNMO teams started to record Serbian people left in the area and the condition of the houses. This main task has been coordinated by the Human Rights Activities Team (HRAT) in the HQ Sector South. Up to the end of October 1995 the UNMO teams have checked 414 villages and hamlets in Sector South. They have recorded 1734 persons, among them 1424 ethnic Serbs, with name, date of birth and the grid of the place where they were found. This information is memorised on computer-data-base.

The UNMO teams have also checked 22213 buildings in the sector South. Among this buildings 8'063 (36%) are completely damaged (no roof any more) and 9'207 (41.5%) partly damaged (looted, broken windows/doors, burnt rooms). 1181 of the buildings are damaged previous to operation "Storm". Among all these figures, the town Knin and its population is not included, also the people who where in the HQ-camp and in the Knin-school and have been evacuated with the convoy on the 16 September 1995 are not included.

Due to the fact that aside from the asphalt roads the UNMOS were the only ones who found these people, the UNMOS provided them with food and organised medical help or evacuation to the hospital in cooperation with the medical section of the Czech-bat or/and the Knin-hospital. In cooperation with UN-Civil Affairs the UNMOS also supported the civilians in the complicated procedure of getting a Croatian ID-cards.

In the last days five UNMO-teams in Sector South have closed down (Donji Lapac, Gracac, Zadar, Sibenik and Sinj). The UNMO HQ Sector South has therefore started at 09 October 95 a handover of all the information about the humanitarian aspects in the
TEAM'S AREAS TO THE UN-CIVPOL. THE UNMO-TEAMS CONDUCTED JOINT PATROLS WITH UN-CIVPOL AND SHOWED THEM ALL THE SMALL ROADS AND PATHS TO THE HAMLETS WHERE STILL PEOPLE ARE LIVING.


ASSESSMENTS.
SINCE THE UNMOS IN SECTOR SOUTH HAVE BEEN INVOLVED WITH THE TASK TO MONITOR THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION, THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ONLY MONITORING BUT ALSO HELPING, KNOWING THAT IN MANY CASES ONLY QUICK ACTION CAN GUARANTEE THE SURVIVAL. (EXAMPLE: WHO IS ABLE TO BRING WOUNDED PEOPLE FROM MOUNTAIN AREAS TO KNIN-HOSPITAL IF THERE IS ONLY ONE AMBULANCE AVAILABLE FOR THE WHOLE KRAJINA? UNMO-TEAMS DID IT).

ANNEX 1

POPULATION SECTOR SOUTH 1991 (1)

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<td></td>
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<td>(40.6%)</td>
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POPULATION SECTOR SOUTH AFTER OPERATION STORM 1995 (3)

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<td>(80%)</td>
<td>(20%)</td>
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<td>(75.5%)</td>
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<td>(90.7%)</td>
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1) SOURCE: POPIS STANOVNISTVA 1991
2) DP=DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES; SOURCE: "RSK COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, 07-10-1993
3) ACCORDING TO THE RECORD OF THE UNMOS SECTOR SOUTH
4) INCLUDING TOWN KNIN WITH NOT MORE THAN 1400 LEFT SERBIAN POPULATION AFTER OPERATION "STORM". INFORMATION BY UNHCR

\[\text{\textcopyright 1997 UNHCR}\]
POSSIBLE LOOTERS IN THE AOR OF 7 CW

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09577301
UNMO-TEAM KNIN, 7CW

SERBIAN PEOPLES IN 7CW-AOR,
UPDATED 04-10-95

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MISSED 02-10

WJ 943881

(PLAVNO)

BOJANICI, WJ 942892

(PLAVNO)

KUBLARI

WJ 962828

(GOLUBIC)

JERKOVICI

WJ 963833

(GOLUBIC)

ZRMANJA VRELO

WJ 848946

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CUK MILKA  1933
CUK DUSAN  1932
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LUKIC DARINKA  1912
LUKIC MARKO  1904
LUKIC MILKA  1922

TRIVIC LAZO  1929
TRIVIC SAVA  1928
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PUVACA ANICA  1937
SUJICA DUSAN  1927
VRACAR ZORKA  1918
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MARCETIC DUSKA  1963
MARCETIC MILAN  1948 ×
MARCETIC SMILJA  1918
KRKLUSAS JANA  1933
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MARCETIC SOFUJA  1929
MARCETIC JELA  1910
MARCETIC SIMO  1950
MARCETIC ZORKA  1918
KRACAR YORKA  ?
KRACAR JELA  ?

DIMIC DULIAN  ?
DIMIC JELA  ?
JOKIC MANDA  ?
JOKIC MIKE  ?

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SKUNDRIC BOGDAN  1901 ×
SKUNDRIC PETAR  1911
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SIJAN MARTA  1908

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99377399

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<td>Distribute Food</td>
<td>Community Center</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>Clean Up</td>
<td>Park</td>
<td>Cleaning Crew</td>
<td>10 trucks on site</td>
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<tr>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>Assess Damage</td>
<td>Damaged Area</td>
<td>Inspection Team</td>
<td>5 inspectors on the ground</td>
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**Notes:**
- Evacuation complete by 10:00 AM
- Security measures taken to protect the area
- Assistance provided to all affected individuals
- Continued monitoring and support for affected community
<table>
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<tr>
<th>#</th>
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<th>TIME</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>INDIVIDUALS FOUND</th>
<th>CAUSE OF DEATH</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>Unknown</td>
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<td>Victim found in Korea village with 3 bullet holes in the back and arm</td>
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| 23 | U.S.S. | 28 Aug 99 | Search | A Wizard | Discovered 20 Tales, 20 Tales, 20 Tales, 20 Tales...
| 35 | U.S.S. | 29 Aug 99 | Search | A Wizard | Discovered 20 Tales, 20 Tales, 20 Tales...
| 36 | U.S.S. | 30 Aug 99 | Search | A Wizard | Discovered 20 Tales, 20 Tales, 20 Tales...
| 39 | U.S.S. | 2 Sep 99 | Search | A Wizard | Discovered 20 Tales, 20 Tales, 20 Tales...
| 40 | U.S.S. | 3 Sep 99 | Search | A Wizard | Discovered 20 Tales, 20 Tales, 20 Tales...

...and so on for the remaining entries in the table.
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<th>Gender</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
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<td>130</td>
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<td>Hiroshima, Japan</td>
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*All injuries occurred during the Hiroshima bombing on Aug 6, 1945.*
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Result</th>
<th>Casualties</th>
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<td>I-strain (M)</td>
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*Note: The table continues with more entries.*

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- **Time:** 147
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- **Victim:** 1-100
- **Relationship:** 2-100
- **Location:** 2-100
- **Details:** Various entries, likely涉及案件详情或事件描述。
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**Note:**
- KELOKOE and KIMERE are locations mentioned in the document.
- The purpose of the visits is not specified in the provided text.
ANNEX  59

HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS AND REPORTS OF SPECIAL RAPPOPORTORS AND REPRESENTATIVES

Situation of human rights in the former Yugoslavia

Note by the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit to the members of the General Assembly and the members of the Security Council and to the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia the periodic report prepared by Mrs. Elisabeth Rohr, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, in accordance with paragraph 42 of Commission on Human Rights resolution 1995/89 of 8 March 1995 and Economic and Social Council decision 1995/290 of 25 July 1995.
ANNEX

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/...
6. Immediately following her appointment, the Special Rapporteur conducted her first mission to the region, in the course of which she visited Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) (the itinerary is contained in the appendix). During her visit to the Sarajevo region, she met with representatives of the Bosnian Serb de facto authorities at Pale. Because of time constraints, her mission was limited to the capitals of the above-mentioned countries, with the exception of a field visit to the former Sector North in Croatia. She was unable to conduct a mission to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on this occasion and intends to visit that country on one of her future trips.

7. The Special Rapporteur is aware that a great deal of information has been gathered by various sources, including the Centre for Human Rights field staff and other United Nations agencies operating in the field. However, before expressing her opinions on various sensitive aspects, the Special Rapporteur wishes to conduct her own missions to all regions concerned and to enter into dialogue with the relevant authorities, representatives of various ethnic groups, refugees and other relevant personalities.

8. This report is based on information gathered by the Special Rapporteur during her mission, as well as information collected by the field staff of the Centre for Human Rights and personnel of other international organizations during the period following the resignation of the former Special Rapporteur. The report focuses mainly on human rights problems arising from recent events in the former sectors North and South in Croatia, and in the areas of Banja Luka and BiHac in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As far as other areas covered by the last mission are concerned, the Special Rapporteur intends simply to identify the pertinent human rights issues with the intention of presenting them in a more comprehensive manner in her next report.

II. CROATIA

A. Introduction

9. During her first mission to Croatia, the Special Rapporteur was informed by international observers and representatives of local non-governmental organizations about the status of the various human rights problems persisting in that country. Her mission was also devoted to establishing important contacts with relevant authorities. In future missions, the Special Rapporteur intends to conduct her own first-hand investigations of alleged human rights violations. Following this, important problems such as the independence of the judiciary, illegal and forced evictions, the application of citizenship law, the situation of the media, and other human rights issues which are not discussed in the present report will be given due attention in a future report.

10. The present report is primarily concerned with the main human rights problems arising as a consequence of the military operation in the former sectors North and South known as operation “Storm”. It also touches on the very important question of the human rights situation of national minorities in Croatia.
11. The Special Rapporteur notes with concern that the Parliament temporarily suspended some articles of the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Freedoms and the Rights of National and Ethnic Communities or Minorities in the Republic of Croatia during its session held from 19 to 21 September 1995. The adoption of that law was considered to be one of the essential conditions for the international recognition of Croatia. Although that law was never fully implemented, it nevertheless provided national minorities with important legal guarantees. The decision to suspend articles which guarantee the special status of districts predominantly populated by national minorities, create separate educational institutions, and secure proportional representation in the Parliament, Government and judiciary, places a question mark over the attitude of the Croatian authorities towards national minorities in general and the Serbian minority in particular. It also seriously undermines the credibility of the officially proclaimed support for the return of refugees as it does not encourage their return if their rights are undermined in this way.

12. The Special Rapporteur also notes with concern that article 60 of the above-mentioned law establishing the Provisional Human Rights Court has been suspended. The establishment of that court was always regarded as an important step towards strengthening the system of human rights guarantees in Croatia. Nevertheless, it has never become operational despite the strong recommendations of the former Special Rapporteur.

B. Human rights situation during and after operation "Storm"

1. General observations

13. Former sectors North and South formed part of the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) which were established in April 1992 in Croatia following the secession of its territories predominantly inhabited by the Serbian population. In 1991, the ethnic composition of those areas which subsequently came to be known as former sectors North and South was as follows: Sector South - Serbs 75.8 per cent, Croats 21.2 per cent, others 3.0 per cent; Sector North - Serbs 71.2 per cent, Croats 23.1 per cent, others 5.7 per cent. This composition has significantly changed during the past three years for the following reasons.

First, almost the entire Croatian population was forced to leave both former sectors as a consequence of serious human rights violations committed against them by the de facto Serb authorities. Secondly, Serbian refugees and displaced persons from other parts of Croatia came to reside in these territories. Despite all efforts, neither the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia nor the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCORO) was able to facilitate the return of Croatian refugees and displaced persons to these territories, as even an international presence was not able to provide effective protection for the remaining non-Serbian population in that area.

14. On 4 August 1995, the Croatian army launched a military operation, operation "Storm", throughout the former sectors North and South; it took control of Knin in former Sector South at midnight on 5 August and most of the rest of the Sector by 7 August 1995. Severe restrictions on movement were imposed on the United Nations and other international personnel in Knin until...
7 August, and in other parts of the Sector until as late as 13 August. Periodic restrictions of movement were imposed throughout August 1995. In former Sector North, where active fighting continued well into the second week of August, severe restrictions on movement were imposed as well. As a consequence of these limitations, it is difficult to make an objective assessment of the extent of casualties and damage during the first days of operation. Nevertheless, international observers have managed to collect credible information indicating that serious violations of humanitarian law and human rights law occurred during and after the military operation. 1/

15. During the military action, civilian targets, including residential areas of Knin, were deliberately targeted by the Croatian army. At least 20 dead bodies, including bodies of women and children, were seen on 5 August by United Nations military personnel along the main road in the town. An artillery shell fired by the Croatian army on the night of 4 August landed less than 10 metres from the United Nations camp at Knin, killing seven persons aboard a tractor who were on their way to the compound. The field staff of the Centre for Human Rights have also received testimonies from survivors of two instances occurring on 5 August in which fleeing Serbs were stopped and shot dead by Croatian army troops. At least nine persons were killed in these incidents.

16. Numerous United Nations observation posts were captured, in some cases after being deliberately fired upon by the Croatian army. Four United Nations peace-keepers were killed and a number of others were wounded. Seven Danish peace-keepers were used as human shields when they were forced by a Croatian officer to walk at the front of a group of advancing soldiers in Bajinka Dubica.

17. Following the offensive, the Croatian authorities launched a public campaign aimed at persuading the Krajina Serbs to remain in the former sectors. The operation, however, resulted in a vast exodus of Serbs from both former sectors into the Serb-controlled region of Bosnia and Herzegovina and into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, from 4 to 10 August 1995. Some 206,000 persons, both military personnel and civilians, constituting more than 90 per cent of the population of the former sectors, crossed the border during this period. No more than 5,000 Serbs still remain in the area, most of them elderly and handicapped.

18. Flouting civilians were subjected to various forms of harassment, including military assaults and attacks by Croatian civilians. On 8 August, a refugee column was shelled between Glin and Dvor, resulting in at least 4 dead and 10 wounded. A serious incident occurred in Sisak on 9 August, when a Croatian mob attacked a refugee column with stones, resulting in the injury of many persons. One woman subsequently died of her wounds. Croatian police watched passively until United Nations civilian police monitors showed up and prompted them to intervene. The Special Rapporteur met some Krajina refugees in Belgrade. They informed her of the tragic circumstances of their flight, which was particularly traumatic for children, the elderly, the sick and wounded.

19. Nearly 1,000 persons, including those without the means to depart, sought and were provided refuge in the UNPROFOR Sector South headquarters compound at Knin, commencing on the evening of 4 August. Following their arrival, the United Nations attempted to negotiate their safe passage to the Federal Republic
of Yugoslavia, in accordance with their wishes, with the Government of Croatia. The evacuation was stalled by the demand of the Croatian authorities that all military-age men be surrendered for investigation of possible complicity in war crimes.

20. After long negotiations with the United Nations, the Government of Croatia made a list of 62 people to be charged with armed rebellion against the Republic of Croatia, war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. However, the Government did not provide any evidence or court documents supporting the charges, so the United Nations refused to hand over the persons named on the list.

21. The Government of Croatia then reduced the number of persons it wished to take into custody to 38. Pursuant to an agreement with the United Nations, these persons were transferred to Croatian custody only after a legal team had reviewed arrest warrants issued by the Croatian courts. In addition, the Croatian authorities agreed to take the following measures: to guarantee compliance with the minimum international standards for the treatment of detainees; to afford due process of law as defined under international fair trial standards; to permit the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit the detainees and to monitor the conditions of detention; to afford the United Nations regular access to the detainees; and to allow the United Nations to monitor and observe the legal proceedings against the detainees.

22. Information provided by the Croatian authorities on 30 August indicates that during operation "Storm", 526 Serbs were killed, 116 of them civilians, that 211 Croatian soldiers and policemen and 42 Croatian civilians were killed, and that 907 persons were detained for investigation, 764 of whom are still in detention.

2. Human rights violations which occurred during and after operation "Storm"

23. Evidence gathered so far indicates that violations of human rights and humanitarian law which were committed during and after operation "Storm" include the following:

(a) Killing of fleeing civilians;

(b) Targeting of heavy weapons against militarily insignificant sites in towns including residential areas of Glina and Knin;

(c) Killing of remaining Serb civilians;

(d) Lack of protection of the remaining members of the minority population which mainly comprises the dependent, the elderly, the physically and mentally handicapped and the mentally ill. These groups lack the following kinds of care and support: reasonable police protection; identification documents; basic nutrition; basic medical care; pension rights; and other forms of assistance. In addition, non-registered persons are unable to apply for family reunification;

/...
(e) Threats and ill-treatment against the Serb minority population by Croatian soldiers and policemen and also by Croatian civilians;

(f) Massive burning of houses belonging to the Serbian population which had fled;

(g) Massive looting of houses belonging to the Serbian population by Croatian soldiers, policemen and civilians;

(h) Occupation of houses belonging to the Serbian population, and in some cases eviction of Serbs residing there.

3. Killing of civilians

24. Field staff of the Centre for Human Rights received numerous reports of killings taking place in former sectors South and North both while the military operation was ongoing, without any military justification, and after the Croatian army had assumed control of the region. More than 120 bodies have been discovered by the United Nations and reports of killings have been especially numerous in the Knin area. According to information received, a common murder method was shots in the back of the head.

25. Information gathered by international observers is presented below and gives some indication of the scale of these practices:

Former Sector South

(a) International observers found a male corpse, 65 years of age, on 9 August in the brush by a road near Benkovac. There were bullet wounds in the head and body. The man had been seen alive 25 minutes earlier by UNPROFOR soldiers in the custody of Croatian civilian police;

(b) International observers visited a home in Knin on 12 August where they found the bodies of a father and son, 90 and 62 years of age, dressed in civilian clothes and shot in the head approximately one week earlier, who had last been seen alive in the company of Croatian soldiers who were removing property, including a television set, from the men’s home;

(c) On 12 August it was reported that a number of elderly persons were burnt to death in their homes in the village of Komic;

(d) International observers were informed on 29 August that a 65-year-old man had allegedly been killed on 13 August in the village of Orlic near Knin by two men in grey Croatian civilian police uniforms and another in a Croatian army uniform;

(e) On 16 August, international observers found, in the village of Zagrovic, four partially dressed men (three of whom were approximately 65 years of age) killed by gunshot wounds to the head. They had been dead for approximately one week;

...
[f] In the village of Kakanj, international observers found the bodies of two persons who had allegedly been killed on 18 August by Croatian soldiers. The perpetrators also allegedly beat others and set fire to a house;

[g] After the burning of the hamlet of Grubori, on 25 August, the body of an 80-year-old man, dressed in pyjamas was discovered on the floor of his bedroom. He had apparently been shot at close range in the back of the head. A second man, 65 years of age, had been found in a field with his throat cut. On the following day, international observers found a man and a woman shot in the head in a field, and the corpse of a 90-year-old woman burnt to death in her home. Croatian Special Police Forces had been observed walking up a road to the hamlet approximately two hours before the arson and killings;

[h] An elderly woman who had been seen entering her home in Mala Polaca with three uniformed Croatian soldiers was found in the home on 29 August, dead from gunshot wounds;

[i] In the hamlet of Ergud near Devrsko, on 11 September, bodies of two elderly women who had been shot dead were found by international observers;

[j] In the village of Varivode, nine Serbs were allegedly killed by four to six armed men in black uniforms on 28 September. International observers noted blood on the stairs of houses in the village, gunshot marks on walls and other evidence;

[k] In the village of Gudara, international observers received reports that the bodies of two men were found on 29 September, allegedly shot by a group of three to six uniformed men conducting house searches in the village;

Former Sector North

[l] In the village of Bijeli Klanac in the municipality of Krnjak, a number of partially burnt bodies were found on 21 August, including the body of a child estimated to be 10 years of age;

[m] Near Radasnica, Gornji Zirovac, international observers found on 30 August two decapitated men, in civilian clothes. The victims appeared to have been dead for two weeks.

4. Burning and looting of civilian property.

26. The looting of property and the burning of abandoned houses occurred on a massive scale in former sectors North and South during the weeks following the completion of operation "Storm". Numerous towns, particularly in former Sector South, were almost entirely destroyed by arson, including the towns of Kistanje, Devrsko, Vrbnik, Golubac, Birovicino Selo, Otric and Srb. In other towns and villages, certain properties were burnt, which suggests that those responsible had a prior knowledge of who lived where. A few major towns, including Benkovac and Obrovac, were spared.
27. It is impossible to give the exact number of houses which have been destroyed by fire in former sectors North and South, although the total is certainly in excess of 5,000. Reliable United Nations estimates put the minimum number of homes burnt in former Sector South at 60 per cent of the total while the number in former Sector North is about 30 per cent. In innumerable cases personally observed by United Nations and other international personnel, Croatian soldiers and civilian police were in direct proximity to burning buildings, in no case taking action against the fires, and in some cases evidently setting them.

28. The number of buildings set on fire in former Sector South showed a decrease towards the end of August 1995 as compared to the rate of arson observed by the United Nations during the middle of the month. However, further reports were received in late August and September of the intimidation of Serbs still residing in the former Sector, and of ongoing looting.

29. Moreover, some reports of burning houses in former Sector South were still being received throughout September and early October 1995. Reports were received from various locations, including Kraljevo, Devrane and hamlets near Obrovac.

30. International observers gave eyewitness accounts of Croatian soldiers allowing large numbers of Bosnian civilians to cross the border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina at Brijuni Airbase on 17 August 1995 in order to loot Serb villages on a massive scale. Soldiers from the army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Fifth Corps) were seen looting and Croatian soldiers who were posted in the area watched and did nothing to prevent any further incidents from occurring.

31. The Croatian authorities in Knin, including the military governor, General Cerovski, gave numerous assurances to United Nations officials in August and September 1995 that patrolling by Croatian civilian police would soon be increased throughout the former sectors. The Foreign Minister of Croatia on 23 August gave written assurances to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights stating: "the Croatian Government has taken all the necessary measures to prevent any further incidents from occurring". However, by 10 September, United Nations monitors had observed that practically no Croatian police were present in the countryside except in the area of Vrlika.

32. Croatian authorities in former Sector South generally provided effective protection in August and September 1995 to religious and cultural sites, including Orthodox churches and monasteries, and damage reported to these buildings was minimal. Among the few exceptions were the Orthodox church at the entrance to Cetina valley, and memorials to Second World War victims at Kistanje and Ubina, all of which suffered major vandalism.

33. The following list provides examples of burning, looting and intimidation occurring in the former sectors:

/...
Former Sector South

(a) In Grozac, on 6 August, international observers witnessed looting by Croatian troops;

(b) In Knin, it was reported that on 6 August four residences were set on fire;

(c) In Knin, international observers reported on 7 August that homes and stores were ransacked and that electrical goods and military equipment were missing;

(d) In Kosovo, six uniformed soldiers equipped with fuel canisters allegedly set fire to houses on 10 August;

(e) In the villages of Kaldma and Cenici, south of Knin, approximately 40 houses and crops were burnt on 10 August. Croatian soldiers and two vehicles carrying fuel canisters and fire axes reportedly were seen in the vicinity;

(f) In the village of Kristanj, on 10 August, international observers witnessed a man driving a Croatian army truck who set fire to a store in the centre of the village;

(g) The town of Devrške was reported to be on fire on 11 August;

(h) The towns of Kristanj and Devrške were reported destroyed by fire on 13 August;

(i) Major damage from arson was reported in numerous other towns in former Sector South during the middle two weeks of August, including Golubic, Vrbnik, Pademe, Vranki, Biovci, Selo, Kastel Zegarski, Biljane, Utic, Srb and Donji Lapac;

(j) In the village of Cenici, on 13 August, international observers were informed by an elderly man that Croatian soldiers had set fire to his house several days before;

(k) In the village of Biljani near Grozac, international observers reported on 24 August that 25 to 30 houses had recently been burnt. A contingent of Croatian soldiers was seen within one kilometre of the location but did not take any action to prevent the fire;

(l) On 25 August, international observers witnessed the entire hamlet of Grubori, consisting of 18 houses and barns, being consumed by fire. The fire was apparently set two or three hours prior to their arrival at the scene;

(m) In Markovac, on 29 August, international observers reported that numerous houses were set on fire. In addition, Croatian soldiers were reported to have shot into houses. One man was reportedly beaten by Croatian soldiers despite being in possession of new Croatian identity documents;
(n) In Mala Polaca, on 4 September, international observers witnessed Croatian soldiers in the act of looting;

(o) In the villages north of Kistanje, international observers were informed on 5 September that the occupants were regularly harassed and intimidated by Croatian soldiers. Soldiers had allegedly shot numerous domestic animals;

(p) In the village of Biovicino Selo on 5 September, international observers witnessed the occupants of four cars openly looting;

(q) In the village of Dabola Rado near Kamenica, on 5 September, international observers found three freshly burnt corpses and the corpses of domestic animals;

(r) In the villages of Ridene, Cenici, Dris, Jusevica, Zeluzje and Ristici, on 7 September, numerous houses were reported burnt;

(s) In Gornje Ceranje, on 12 September, international observers received a report from an elderly couple that two Croatian soldiers had thrown a grenade into their house;

Former Sector North

(t) In a village of Gornji Cerovljani, on 2 September, international observers reported that a church, which was undamaged as at 31 August, had been destroyed;

(u) In a village of Gruboroni, on 2 September, it was reported that Croatian army soldiers searched the village for weapons and took television sets and other valuables from the houses;

(v) In the village of Paukovac, on 7 September, international observers reported that 50 houses (80 per cent) had been destroyed;

(w) In the village of Rijeka, on 11 September, international observers reported that 13 houses had been burnt. Five Croatian soldiers prevented the observers from investigating further;

(x) International observers reported on 14 September that Croatian soldiers looted Serb property while Croatian police were in attendance in the villages of Donji Klaisnic, between Sroga and Ocho, Donji Zirovac;

(y) In the villages of Katinovac, Sibare, Kujnica, Rajici, Kliajici, Knizevci, Pecka, Crni Potok and Gornji Klaisnic, on 16 September, international observers reported having seen 84 recently burnt houses;

(z) In the village of Dugi Dol, on 8 October, international observers saw approximately 14 burnt houses. The remaining houses in the village were looted and vandalized;
5. Other forms of harassment

34. Although the Croatian authorities are trying to assure the remaining Serbs that they are welcome to stay in Croatia, the Special Rapporteur has received numerous reports suggesting that in fact their continued residence in Croatia is not welcome. During her mission to the former Sector North, the Special Rapporteur met with some elderly and disabled Serbs who reported being constantly harassed and attacked by uniformed men and civilians. A 65-year-old disabled woman had been shot at by armed and uniformed assailants just two days before the visit of the Special Rapporteur. International observers confirm that armed individuals in Croatian army uniforms regularly roam the countryside terrorizing elderly Serb civilians.

35. These violations have been brought to the attention of the Government of Croatia at the highest levels by the United Nations, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, on a number of occasions. On 18 October 1995 the Croatian Minister of the Interior presented the results of the investigation of crimes committed in connection with operation "Storm", according to which the police had resolved 25 of 41 registered cases of murder. The police have arrested 13 people suspected of committing crimes in the village of Gusići and in Varivode. According to the Government only one Croatian army soldier was included among the suspects, whereas all others were civilians who were wearing military apparel. According to Government information, the police have also received reports of 844 cases of looting, 619 of which have been resolved; 751 suspects have been reported to state attorneys. The Special Rapporteur has not received any detailed information concerning the prosecution of perpetrators.

C. Return of refugees and displaced persons

36. The official line in Croatia is that the Serbs are welcome to return to their ancestral homes. However, the reality is rather different. First, there are physical barriers to returning because of the widespread burning of homes and, secondly, there are more subtle legal and administrative impediments.

37. During her recent mission, the Special Rapporteur held discussions with the Croatian authorities concerning the recently adopted law on the temporary takeover and management of certain property. This law allows the Croatian authorities to assume control over "abandoned property" which may then be given to Croatian displaced persons and refugees for "temporary possession and use". This law primarily addresses the situation created in the former sectors when nearly 200,000 Serbs fled their homes following Croatia's military action at the beginning of August. The Special Rapporteur was informed by the Croatian authorities that the purpose of the new law was to protect abandoned property and to secure it for the possible return of the legitimate owners.
38. There are a number of concerns regarding this law. First, it does not appear to conform with Articles 3 and 48 of the Croatian Constitution, which guarantee the right of ownership. Article 89 of the Constitution stipulates that ownership may in the interests of the Republic be restricted by law, or property taken over against indemnity equal to its market value. Thus the property of the fleeing Serbs in the form of real estate should be expropriated by the Government only in exchange for its market value. However, the law on the temporary takeover and management of certain property constitutes a de facto confiscation. Furthermore this law concerns not only real estate but also moveable property.

39. The law has extended the period of time during which the legitimate owner may return to Croatia and reclaim their property from 30 to 90 days. It remains unclear what the status of the property is after the 90 days are over, even though it has been stipulated that the ownership of unclaimed property will be dealt with by a special law. Furthermore, even if the owner does return within the deadline, his or her property will not be restored until the Croatian citizen to whom the property has been given receives another "appropriate property for possession and use". This law has a restrictive effect on the concept of property since Serbs may be deprived of the right to own property solely because they are unable to use it personally.

40. Furthermore, the Special Rapporteur notes the difficulties facing refugees in returning to Croatia within the deadline in order to reclaim their properties. The Croatian Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees has established a procedure for return. After studying the regulations, the Special Rapporteur is convinced that the vast majority of refugees, regardless of their own intentions, will not be able to meet those requirements. During the meeting with the Special Rapporteur, the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Tivko Kostovic, stated that all those who are able to present the required documents would be allowed to return. According to him, this proves the serious intention of the government in its officially proclaimed policy towards the return of refugees.

41. However, the Special Rapporteur points out that a couple of thousand Croatian Serb refugees are already waiting in Hungary for return and are being prevented from doing so by various bureaucratic measures instituted by Croatian officials. Reports have been received of various administrative obstacles and the very uncooperative attitude towards refugees from both the Croatian consulate office in Belgrade and the Croatian embassy in Budapest. Other reports confirm that refugees have been turned back at the border despite being in possession of the necessary documentation, including Croatian citizenship papers. Given that return within the prescribed time-limits does not appear feasible, the requirement that the owners must be in Croatia constitutes an insurmountable obstacle for Serbs currently outside Croatia.

42. It is necessary to indicate that this law affects not only refugees who fled from the former sector but also persons who left Croatia after 17 August 1990, or are staying in either the former Sector East, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, or the Bosnian Serb-held areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina and have not used the property personally since leaving Croatia.
43. Another matter for concern regarding refugees and displaced persons is the directive issued by the Croatian Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees on 22 September on the revocation of refugee status of citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina who were in Croatia and who came from municipalities which were under the control of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on that date. This measure could have serious implications for the status of up to 100,000 refugees.

44. The Government of Croatia has informed the Special Rapporteur that only refugees from areas considered to be completely safe would be required to return to Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, by its terms, the revocation of refugee status affects all of the country's refugees in Croatia, with only limited exceptions such as sick people, orphans and those studying in Croatia. According to the Government, the municipalities which should not in any case be considered safe are those still under the control of the Bosnian Serb army and those close to the front line.

45. More than 40,000 Croatian displaced persons who were originally from Krajina and Western Slavonia are expected to return to their former homes by the end of the year.

D. Situation of refugees in the Kupljenak area

46. At the beginning of August, approximately 25,000 Bosnian Muslim refugees fled from the Velika Kladusa area of Bihac, in north-western Bosnia and Herzegovina, to Croatia following the fall of that region to the Bosnian Government forces. They have been precariously settled in the Kupljenak area along the sides of the road between Vojnic and Velika Kladusa. The majority of these refugees are unwilling to return to Bihac because of the security situation. Details of this problem are provided in paragraphs 72 to 79 below.

47. There are a number of allegations against the Croatian civilian authorities and the Croatian security forces concerning their treatment of those refugees. Many concerns have been raised concerning the humanitarian situation in this camp. International agencies have assessed that the site of the camp is highly unsuitable, with poor sanitation leading to serious health concerns. The makeshift accommodation in which the refugees are housed is also highly unsuitable for the winter ahead.

48. The general security situation is reported to be very bad, with tensions running high among the refugees and the presence of a large number of draft-age men carrying dangerous weapons. There are allegations that the Croatian security forces are responsible for worsening the security situation by harassing and provoking the refugees and by encouraging a black market in the camp. There are some reports that Croatian security forces have shot and wounded persons leaving the camp area, which is strictly forbidden. In one case, it was reported that on 25 August 1995, three young people were shot in the right hand by two uniformed men when discovered picking pears from a tree.

49. In September, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that at least 40 persons have been abducted and
forcibly repatriated by Croatian army soldiers. Other reports state that
Croatian soldiers are receiving 200 deutsche mark for each man handed over to
the Bosnian Government forces (Fifth Corps).

50. There are allegations that the refugees are experiencing problems receiving
medical care in Croatian hospitals. Reports state that hospital authorities are
reluctant to provide treatment without receiving payment first and that
ambulance drivers have been harassed at checkpoints.

III. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

A. Introduction

51. During her mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Special Rapporteur held
meetings with representatives of governmental authorities, including
Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and
members of various non-governmental organizations (see appendix). Discussions
concerned recent political developments and pertinent human rights issues. The
Special Rapporteur was assured full cooperation and support by the Bosnian
Government authorities, particularly with regard to the question of access to
territories. The Special Rapporteur was also greatly encouraged by the
activities of the non-governmental community.

52. A visit was also made to the headquarters of the Bosnian Serb de facto
authorities at Pale, where a meeting was held with Mr. Aleksa Buha, who, on
behalf of the leadership of the Bosnian Serb de facto authorities, expressed
willingness to cooperate with the Special Rapporteur. The Special Rapporteur
stressed the need for free access to all Bosnian Serb-held territories,
particularly Srebrenica, Zepa and Banja Luka, if a full assessment of the human
rights situation was to be made. She was informed that there would be
difficulties in gaining full access until a final peace agreement had been
concluded.

53. In terms of the general human rights situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina,
the Special Rapporteur notes that the military activities in recent months and
the accompanying territorial changes have yielded new evidence of human rights
violations, both past and present. There are allegations of human rights
violations committed by all sides to the conflict during the recent military
offensives which require further investigation. In addition, there may be
allegations of violations committed in the past which it may now be possible to
investigate through the possibility of access to territories captured by
Government and Bosnian-Croat forces; the displacement of persecuted minorities
to accessible territories; and the possibility of access to Bosnian Serb-held
lands.

B. Sarajevo

54. Sarajevo has been the scene of some of the gravest violations of human
rights in the course of this conflict; the targeting of civilians by shelling
and sniping has resulted in countless dead and wounded. The shelling of Markale
/...
ANNEX 60

100 DAYS AFTER OPERATION "STORM" IN THE FORMER "SERB KRAJINA"

COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY REPORT ON THE FIRST HUNDRED DAYS OF CROATIAN RULE IN UN SECTOR SOUTH

ECMM, KNIN
21 November 1995
100 DAYS AFTER OPERATION "STORM"
IN THE FORMER "SERB KRAJINA"

COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY REPORT
ON THE FIRST HUNDRED DAYS OF
CROATIAN RULE IN UN SECTOR SOUTH

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21 November 1995

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to provide knowledge of the first one hundred days of Croatian rule -The Reintegration- in the area known as UN Sector South or the bulk of the so-called "Republic of Serb Krajina" as it appeared to international monitors in the period form the hot summer month to the onset of winter 1995.

The aim is to answer the many questions following a war like: - What happened to the remaining population?, were the promises fulfilled?, what became the state of the human rights?, did the people come back; both the displaced persons from 1991 and those who got driven out by operation STORM in August 1995?, how did the economy develop? -the legal framework? How did the new societies develop?

In short: What did "Reintegration" mean in praxis?

The bulk of this report is European Union Monitors own findings obtained during their daily work. However, information obtained during our cooperation with other International Organisations contribute to the report.

This is not a full account of all problems and all developments, but an attempt to provide typical pictures.

This survey continues the description of events presented in "Comprehensive Survey Report on the Consequences of Operation STORM in the Former Krajina" of 20 September 1995. Therefore this survey will not repeat the detailed information gathered there.
SUMMARY

EU monitors, permanently working in the area known as UN Sector South, followed the developments in the first 100 days after Operation STORM (from 04 August to 20 November) of Croatian rule. In general the period began with total anarchical destruction by looting and burning of the countryside and looting of the town centres. This peaked in August and September leaving the countryside devastated with many being subject to physical violence and even killings and the town centres largely spoiled. Largely due to this wanton self-inflicted destruction, the ambitious Croatian plan for the return of large numbers of displaced persons (DP) from 1991 proved impossible by the onset of winter.

Those Serbs and Croats who stayed in the area during the "Krajina"-time soon faced problems; ongoing looting, threats and random human right violations and discrimination. Especially many old people living outside the towns are now at life threatening risk due to the general neglect by authorities to secure them physically, and the lack of their traditional family support.

After 100 days the administrative structures are generally still only in the shaping, and they offer mainly support to those living in/near town centres that have the resources and the courage to fight for their rights. The economy remain largely inactive and large communities run without money. Robberies and looting are at a high rate and still ongoing as of ultimo November.

By the 04 December 1995 the deadline for reclaiming property expires, and practically all those who fled in August will loose their material basis for a future live in their home region. As the deadline close in, this move is likely to affect more than 180.000 people, making it the largest single event of (administrative) "ethnic cleansing".
ABOUT PART I
This first part of the report contain a description of the larger town centres and the countryside as they are in general. Then follows a journey through the institutions of reintegration: the judiciary system, the Courts and the Police. Then the scope will move to the economical developments, to check the status 100 days into Croatian rule in order to examine the prospects for the near future. In this context a study of the property situation is of importance. The situation regarding employment and social security system will be mentioned. Finally, before drawing some conclusions, the issue of return of people will and some impressions about the administrators in here will be given.

The bulk of the part is reports as it was actually observed and derived from everyday contact with ordinary people in towns and in the countryside as well as numerous meetings with the officials, who administrate this area.

THE TOWNS

THE GAB
After 100 days one of the distinct result is the growing gab between the two different "spheres": the towns and the countryside. As the countryside is largely burned, the towns are where the Croatian rule is obvious. The larger towns in sector South: Knin, Drniš, Benkovac, Obrovac, Gradac, Kostnica and Udbina were spared from destruction in operation "STORM" in August. Here utility services are in general working since September. Electricity and water and basis communications were established.
The face of the towns are being refreshed along the main street(s) where the majority of the broken windows are remade. A number of different shops have opened and they break the general picture of deserted grey streets.
Moving away from the main street the picture changes. Here the signs of destruction are still to be found: piles of garbage, personal belonging from the previous owners of the houses spread around in the streets.

THE PEOPLE
In the towns the returning DP from 1991 are settling. Many find themselves in another town, than they lived in before, but since they are told by the Croatian administration to move out of the places they stayed in during the last four years, they have to take was is available. In the larger towns like Knin a few thousands are living. The people on the streets are mainly soldiers, their families or elder people. The area adjacent to the Bosnian border traditionally had a significant military presence. The serbs are represented mainly by the females, since they are the ones who have returned. The males are low in number, because the males that fled in August are prevented by

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the combined Serbian-Croatian bureaucracy from returning, or they fear for their fate in an environment where most men wear guns and the hate is intense. Serbs are not described as serbs, but as "Chetniks". Finally, the group of KrajinaSerb that sympathized and were heavily committed to the idea of "Republic of Serb Krajina" have left and are unlikely to come back.

HOUSING PROBLEMS AND LOOTING
By far the majority of the houses have new owners: "HV occupied", "Croat occupied" and a croat flag are almost everywhere as a sign to deter looters and houseburners. This, however, wasn't sufficient as almost every single house in all towns were looted several times. This looting has made the government desired repopulating campaign very difficult. The word "looted" means in most cases completely empty including having bathrooms inventory, kitchens, stoves, all furniture: EVERYTHING removed.

The looting was intense in August and September and continues even as this is written in November. But as the items got fewer and of lesser value the general pattern of looting changed. At all stages it involved both Croatian Army soldiers and civilians using all sorts of transport means: trucks, small cars, tractors with tailors etc.

In many cases the grotesque scenery developed where houses was being emptied one day only to receive its new inhabitants few days later bringing in hardware and furniture they themselves had looted from other houses.

Those who were busy finding themselves a new house in the days when water and electricity services were down were the lucky ones: they could move into houses were the floors and rooms were not swimming in water from broken pipes.

The archives describing the looting in details are available but too large to be printed in full extend. But the fate of just one house close to ECMM locations in Knin describes the typical development:

A house located in Knin in the N end of Kozaracka Street:
07 AUG Only small valuables stolen, rooms ransacked, door broken. In the afternoon 3 Croatian Army (HV) soldiers belonging to the 4 Guards brigade entering to take clothes.
10 AUG TV sets, old radios and washing machine removed. Water pipe broken but water and electricity not connected.
12 AUG A group of HV soldiers loading furniture on a civilian truck without registration plates.
27 AUG Kitchen ware and bathroom inventory removed.
05 SEP Heavy stove, internal doors and single windows removed.
06 SEP Civilians coming and going.
07 SEP Bosnian Croat refugees move in. According to themselves: Their own house in Bosnia was burned during the fight between the bosnian moslems and croats. They were forced to leave without belongings. They now bring in goods, kitchen ware and furniture they have looted from other houses in the region.
02 OCT  The new inhabitants have now established their new home with all furniture, functioning kitchen and everything.

26 OCT  To replace the stored chopped firewood they have now collected new. The last internal doors are made so they fit. After having collected the vegetables from the abandoned gardens the family is now better prepared for the winter.

The plan of returning several tens of thousands in the first month was therefore impossible. Instead many DPs still occupy the hotels and accommodations causing big frustration for the croats living in those "holding areas" in the former "free Croatia".

A large influx of people during winter time is not expected since the harsh weather conditions makes everything rather difficult.

THE WORK
If people in the towns have work then it is mostly in the local administration or in the few shops. There are of course many soldiers and policemen. The rest of the people are unemployed since no major employer from the time before 1991 have resumed business and are not likely to do so in a foreseeable future. Many people spend their time in the town getting hold of their personal papers. This requires a lot of time queuing up and travelling between offices.

HOW MANY PEOPLE?
A simple question, but it hasn't got a simple answer.
In fact nobody known the number, only the scale.
This is -among other reasons- due to:
- the lack of well run local administrations,
- people commuting in and out of the Sector South to work during daytime on reconstruction etc.
- soldiers and policemen on duty in the reintegrated areas but not living permanent there.
- people staying without papers not registrated.

So therefore there are more people existing/living in the reintegrated areas than registrated.
But the scale is believed not to exceed 15.000 people.

OASIS FOR THE STRONG
During October-November the towns have developed into the oases where those who are rich in personal resources can fight for their rights and obtain what is theirs. If they can read and write, if they have means of transportation, if they have the time and the patience or the right connections then they can get reclaim their property, get their pension/social security, unite the family, deter the looters etc. However, if they belong to the group of people that stayed -for whatever reason it might have been- during the "Krajina"-time, then the fight is harder and changes of success slim.
WHAT IS "THE COUNTRYSIDE"

The countryside is not defined by a certain geographical distance, or by the lifestyle, but in so much by the lack of utility services, the lack of security and— for long periods—the lack of attention from the new administration. "Countryside" can be down to few kilometres from—for instance—Knin. The electricity is lacking and the source of water is now often rainwater.

THE PEOPLE

Going to the countryside means going to the area where mainly serb life. Now 100 days after "STORM" they are generally old, the average age being well beyond 50. They live in small societies numbering from a few up to around 50. They are the ones left when the general evacuation took place on the 04-05 August. It was in the countryside the majority of the random killings and systematic burning took place leaving around 400 villages and hamlet more or less uninhabitable.

THE LIVE IN LACK OF SECURITY

A distinct feature in nearly all corners of the countryside is the lack of security. The first 100 days have meant everyday looting, threats and harassment. There has been no serious decrease in this deplorable problem, but the items attractive for looters have changed. In the first months it was domestic valuables similar to what was being looted in towns. The value livestock represent was also attractive to looters so along with a systematic cattle collection campaign ordinary looters joined in to remove the cows, sheep, horses and also pigs. In total only about 10% of the former total number of livestock remain in the region previously known for its vast quantities of livestock. In October-November this—looting for food—gained new momentum. Apart from this, pension money, other valuables and even IO donated food aid are constantly being looted.

Also here the archives with the details are available, but for this report considered too large to be included in full extend. (The archive make up more than 50 pages).

But a short example from one ECMM team report on the very day this is being written (21 November 1995):

21 November:
- In Bebradice (WJ74-72) 14 Serb persons remain. Last week two cows, nine pieces of smoke dried ham, 10 sheep and 11 pigs were stolen by young men dressed in civil.
- In Raducic (WJ85-76) 27 Serb persons remain. Four died recently by natural causes; no medical care provided until now. 16 NOV a local old Serb woman were threatened by three young civilian men, travelling in a light truck. The men forced her into a large wooden barrel and then they looted new windows, doors, tools from a storage near her house and one pig.
- In Ervenik (WJ76-84) 22 Serbs remaining: At 13.20 hrs the local police stopped a green Zastava (ZD-101-H) with three pigs
on a trailer for a check-up. 10 min. later team saw the vehicle with the pigs heading to Obrovac.
- At 14.30 hrs team spotted two men (with silver Renault 19, No. ST-356-EL in Pliskovo (XJ02-73)) "persuading" a local Serb to "sell" his sole cow. The men left the local man as the team approached the scene. The locals stated that looters are visiting them every day and night. They assessed the looters are croatian returnees from Kijevo (XJ09-70).

Other typical examples covering the period:

Saturday 30 September one ECMM patrol reported:
POPOVICI (XJ 00-73): One old serb lady (identified) reported that during the last three days she was robbed for money and a number of her sheep were stolen by a group of uniformed HV soldiers. She reports that she resisted by were threatened with guns. In the same hamlet another group of three (identified) old serbs were robbed and has house vandalized, TV smashed and were slapped in their faces.
BISKUPIJA (WJ 71-98): a group of three civilian in uniforms of Civil protection brigade men observed looting a house for fuel and wine. They claimed they were joining the cattle collecting operation in the area. TC: If this is true, it is a strange behaviour to include fuel and wine. EC.
PLAVNO VALLEY (WJ 934-920): observed looting by a group of 4 civilians and uniformed HV MP soldiers from 72 HV MP BAT.
Looting of horses, furniture and other house items, persons engaged in looting riding following cars with reg. plates were recorded:
ST 569-CS Opel Kadett (11.45 hrs), IM 763-E Mercedes light truck (12.05 hrs), ST 294-A Mercedes small car (12.06 hrs), ST 879-OP Scania heavy truck (moving around in the valley collecting items for a long time), ST 897-DL white Skoda forcing a horse into a trailer. ST 892-CZ large truck, ST 523-CI Fiat small car, two vehicles carrying uniformed HV soldiers wearing badges of the 4 Guards BDE: ST 350-DU and SI 216-D.
PALANKA (WJ 93-93) and ASANI (WJ 92-92): Remaining old people (identified) report that they were robbed in the last two days of sheep and other livestock, relief aid and donated food parcels by uniformed HV soldiers. They begged and resisted but were threatened. Asked if any official papers regarding the collecting of the livestock was produced by the HV soldiers they answered "no".

06 October: UNMO reports:
-1515 hrs in Golubic (WJ98-84) UNMO ptrl Knin was informed by local residents that the money (200KN each) that they had received from Cro. authorities after registration was all forcefully collected from them by persons in uniforms, two days ago.

12 October: UNMO reports:
-On joint patrol with UNMO and CALO 4 x looters (2 x in HV uniform, 2 x in civilian clothing) were seen, having just killed a local mans 7 x sheep and put the meat in 3 sacks. Beside these sacks was also a part of the humanitarian rations UNMO ptrl had

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delivered to the local residents day before. The CALO called police to arrest the men. Comment: joint patrols such as this will be continued to act as a deterrent.

21 October: UNMO reports:
- Visiting the village of Gobulic (WJ99-85). Ptl were informed by the few old people living in the area, that they are still harassed and intimidated by looters every day. The looters are normally passing by after 1600 hrs (when finishing their normal job). Therefore LO contacted the Chief of Police of Strmica (WJ01-91). He informed the ptl that this is not his area of responsibility. Ptl left the village to by bread to the old people and when returning to the village, ptl were informed that 30 minutes earlier, looters took the phone and the electric water pump from one of the old inhabitants.

14 November: one ECMM patrol reports:
- In hamlet MATJEVICI (WJ80-87) Team met a local woman (identified) stating that since the "STORM" 100 goats, 80 sheep, 5 cows, 3 veal and 2 horses belonging to the inhabitants of the hamlet, were taken away by uniformed men. At 1215 hrs ECMM stopped 3 men travelling in a small car: red Lada, No.2D-20A-AJ, with a trailer. The men explained openly they were seeking for pigs. Comment: Despite police patrols on the main roads, the looting in the remote areas cannot be prevented if it doesn’t have any consequences being caught looting.

BURNINGS
It is a common misunderstanding that the house burnings in the countryside ended in September. However, the rate declined very much. The following are examples from the period after end of September:

03 October: UNMO
- at 1445 at Vukovici XJ1369 observed 1 x house burning and looting was ongoing in the village.

04 October: UNMO
- At 1600hrs discovered 2 x barns and 4 x haystacks burning in Korolje WJ7874. The fire seemed to have been ongoing for approx 4-5 hrs. Looting in this village was still in progress by people driving 4 x cars with reg plate: "ST 260 BE", "2D 618 P", "ZG 415 SI" AND "SI 867 AB".

06 October: ECMM
- Directly after ECMM Team had attended mtg with CoP Donji Lapac, Team observed formations of large haystacks in nearby Gajine (WK 72-32) on fire 14.45 hrs. TC: Food for the animals for the coming winter being destroyed. EC.

07 October: UNMO
- at 1215hrs UNMO ptd observed 1 x house burning at Opacici WJ715778. At the spot was a police car with plate number 170072

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and three policemen who stated that they had come to find out who lit the fire.

-At 1230hrs UNMO ptl observed at Bosici WK5722 1 x house burning. On the way back ptl was stopped by cro civpol who asked UNMOs about that house and who stated that they were going to investigate the matter. Comment: that was the last house (of 16) in that village that had not been burned.

10 October: UNMO
-At 1220hrs at WK794425, UNMO observed 2 x houses on fire.

- At 1600hrs at Baljci WJ5054 observed 1 x house on fire. 2 X civilians were spotted in the area.

12 October: UNMO
- At 1430hrs UNMO patrol obs 1 x burning houses in Vukava WK403435, cro pol and civilians (taking pictures) in area, told that house belonged to croats named Serdar.

13 October: UNMO
-At 1045hrs at Misiljenovac WK802368, UNMO observed one house on fire.

16 November: UNMO
-17.15hrs patrol observed one house on fire in OCESTOVO (WJ 91-77).

As shown in Annex 1, a UNMO compiled list of remaining population and destroyed houses as of 04 November 95, the problems have got a certain size. The Annex 2, serious human right cases monitored by UNCIVPOL add further to this.

NEGLECTED COUNTRYSIDE -OR JUST A SLOW START?

In the countryside You seldom find clean running water and electricity yet. It is not because the grids, the wells or the pipes are missing. They are just not connected. A lot of explanations are heard from the utility companies about the problems. No doubt that some of them are true. But why do some hamlet with few (croat) people receive the services one month before others holding far more people (serbs) still at this time at the onset of winter are left without. Many of these places had electricity before operation "STORM".

As the Annex 3, ICRC "Fact Sheet Krajina Aftermath" dated 02 October shows, the people in the countryside are at serious risk and urgent attention is needed.

In medio November ECM Teams started receiving information from hamlets and villages, that old people left without medical treatment had died. It's an open question if they would have survived. But living without medical treatment in frosty conditions in houses damaged by looters, with windows broken and firewood scarce or missing certainly doesn't increase the chances for surviving.
The following was recorded by ECMM:
13 November:
Team Knin patrolled the Mokro Polje area, centerpos (WJ 83-81), in order to update the list of "The People in Sector South". There are some changes due to the fact that people are leaving for Serbia or joining their relatives in other parts of Croatia. Apart from this, a few elderly people have died since the last update (medio September). TC: Could this have been avoided or not? We don’t know. But life conditions are worse than poor. EC.

21 November:
Klin hospital have now finally received 3 ambulances for mobile medical teams. In Raducic (WJ85-76) 27 Serb persons remaining - four died recently by natural causes; no medical care were provided until now TC: Unfortunately the 3 ambulances for these four people were delivered too late. EC.

WAITING FOR THE BUS
Transportation is generally not available outside the town centres. This is due to a number of reasons:
- the majority of those who possessed means of transportation have fled;
- almost all remaining cars, trucks, tractors and horses have either been looted, destroyed, cannibalised of spare parts or killed.

A lot of grave humanitarian problems remain unsolved just because of the lack of transportation means. 100 days after the introduction of Croatian rule is it still not possible for the administration, that keep a huge logistical apparatus running within the HV, the Policija and other services, to organise just one bus going to hamlets close to -for instance- Knin. ECMM had long discussions with the different relevant authorities including the Government Representatives about this problem, but only little progress have been seen so far, and it seems to have come only after pressure.
The following letter is an example of the discussions.

ECMM Knin

To: Croatian Government Representative Municipality KNIN
Mr. Petar Pasic
Municipality Building Knin

Subj: Reactivation of transport service in KNIN Municipality.


1. In our meeting the 14. November you mentioned the wish and the idea of establishing a bus service to facilitate the communication between KNIN town and the remote areas. As I said, I find this a very good idea and most needed in the present situation where a lot of people have difficulties taking
themselves to and from KNIN for their necessary administrative matters and businesses, especially on the onset of winter.

2. As we have conveyed your idea further on, we are now looking forward to learn your more detailed plan to start this transport.

3. A suggestion have been forwarded and I hereby convey it to you: In the 27. October meeting with the ECMM head of operations in CROATIA, Mr. Gambotti, the Operational Zone Commander General Ante Gotovina informed Mr. Gambotti that the Croatian Army had withdrawn from Western Bosnia and that Knin area was - as far as HV matters were concerned - in the process of becoming a normal peacetime location. Therefore the suggestion is that a part of the logistic transport means of the Croatian Army (some of its busses) in this area be allocated to the transport of civilians. By taking these means with skilled drivers and the maintenance apparatus at hand, the transport problem could be eased temporarily while a more long term plan is being drawn up.

Given the advanced time of the year and the urgent need for this step, I propose a meeting for this purpose as soon as possible.

Sincerely

However, ECMM have heard no direct response so far. But a newspaper article in the daily "Slobodna Dalmacija" a few days later (21 November) carried an interview with Mr. Pasic stating that Zagreb transport authorities had donated 14 small cars. Off these the Croatian Army would receive 4 and the Police 3!

Can - and will - people return to areas like these? To answer this question a brief look at the institutions of reintegration is needed.
THE INSTITUTIONS OF REINTEGRATION

THE SIGNS
The reintegration in general can be characterised as a process of changing everything that was non-croat into croat. The process is the follower of every victory in these areas, just like the Krajina Serb leaders tried to get rid of everything of croat descent. The buildings and offices are the same so nobody need to get confused, but the signs on the walls are different. After these were mounted followed a long period, were no office really worked. After 100 days the situation was like this:

THE JUDICIARY SYSTEM: A SLOW START AND A BLIND EYE
Following right behind the advancing HV forces in the first days of August were large numbers of croatian police and croatian military police. This was probably in anticipation of a prolonged fight where the need for controlling civilians, refugees and prisoners of war (POW) would require extensive presence of police forces. Or it could have been as a measure to establish law and order quickly in the area now in croat control. However, it turned out different. May be that special regulation and laws were made to secure the official statements, but they for sure were not implemented. Right from day one of Croatian rule 05 August thing started to go wrong. Even at the main gate of the UN Sector South Hq, when the commander of the Croatian Army 7. brigade (Puma) told that his soldiers were disciplined professionals under tight control the soldiers less than 30 metres away began systematic looting that still continues on 21 November.

Annex 4, UN Sector South Commander General Forand last press briefing, gives a very good overview of the problems.

It is common knowledge that as soon as the first incidents are not stopped the situation get out of control. When even the commanders themselves, like the Operational Zone Commander General Gotovina himself within the first week takes over property for his own personal use then the soldiers have no good role model.

A striking feature was and still is the lack of a functioning a judiciary system with its bodies actually working in the areas. Signs showing that this is the seat of the Municipality Court etc. were hung in all places, but they didn’t have or get the personnel or the facilities to perform. The judiciary system is still "in absentia".

STATUS
The "reintegrated areas" in areas of UN Sector South falls mainly within Zadar County (Zadar-Kninsko Zupanije). Zadar is therefore the seat of the District Court. According to District Court President Mr. Benko Velitic there are Courts in Knin, Banovci, Gradac, Korenica, Obrovac and Donji Lapac. According to acting Court president in Knin, Mr. Mihorad Curko, with Knin as the working second level Court for the areas. This Court

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being empowered to sentence up to 10 years imprisonment. It will
—in the most optimistic scenario— take until February 1996
before the Courts can start to function, and only thereafter
they can start processing cases. They lack judges and for
instance the facilities to accommodate them. Why is it so?, when
—for instance— there are already 11 applications for the post of
the Court President in Knin, the staff is there working, albeit
not with formal contracts.

When ECMM 15 November discussed the status of the Courts with
the Zadar Zapanja district attorney, he stated that in total 158
cases of looting, burning (and drug and illegal weapon
possession) in the period from August-November have been
investigated and charges raised to the District Court in Zadar
(Covering the whole former UN Sector South) and 7 (seven) more
are under investigation. 158 cases! This is —de facto— saying
that only a marginal part of the vast crimes, looting and
burnings committed since beginning of August are being brought
to Court. We still havn’t seem the persons doing looting and
burning actually being brought to trial.

What will the charges be in the Court room. If justice shall
prevail it is assessed, that many of them must receive up to 8
years in prison for the looting, because this was what a number
of serbs was given for similar offenses, they were charges with
having committed against croats in the “Krajina”—time.

Among the 158 cases ECMM checked to learn if one of the arrests
ECMM knew about —made in Dnopolje on the 26 September a woman
being caught redhanded looting from a house— had been brought
for the Court: the case is not there. Where is it??

Regarding the number of arrested looters, one have to be honest:
each and everybody working in international organisations in
this area would probably be able to make a list of around 158
incidents, where looters were spotted looting. The same could
have been done by the police and the military police, if they
have had the orders and willingness to take their duty serious.

This lack of enthusiasm for creating conditions for law and
order can be described by yet another small example: the fact
that the Knin Court have the right to occupy five flats in Knin
town. These, however, have since September been taken by
policemen, and now the Court have to evict the policemen; but
who shall carry this out? —the police?

THE LAWYER
In Knin you can find only one working lawyer/legal adviser Mr.
Dusan Krstanovic. He is mainly assisting in filling out paper
for people who are claiming pension and death certificates etc.
He haven’t any cases for the Court since the Court in Knin is
not working. People can get his help free of charge. Only people
living in the town tend to come to him due to the lack of
transportation means. He’s aware of the pity situation that only
the Zadar Court is working and he’s convinced that a number of
legal problems, investigations etc are left behind just due to
the distance.

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Even the Chiefs of police are now admitting, that the absence of functioning systems prevents the stability. For instance Mr. Ivica Ugarcovic in Korenica is of the opinion that due to slow progress of the Courts, the enforcement of the law lose the desired effectiveness. As there is no deadline for the Court to start processing a case, some cases are pending more than one year. The CoP admitted being sometimes frustrated of the reality, as plenty of work hours and paper have been "wasted" as to complete the cases.

As the only working Court is far away (in Zadar), so is it peoples minds. And the absence of Courts further provides for a situation were a lot of decisions are made arbitrary.

The following case illustrates this widespread feeling of living in limbo in a "special zone":

On 12 November in the evening when the public news had carried the Basic agreement for Baranja (the Sector East problem) a HV soldier began shooting close to ECMM location. The news apparently triggered this behaviour. He began shooting at property including a truck being regarded serb property. The ECMM witnessed it all. Several SA round destroyed the windows, the tires and the engine including the engine hood. The HV police came alarmed by the SA fire. They managed to find the perpetrator and took him with.

One day later the police came back looking at daylight at the scene interviewing the offended owner of the truck and allowing the perpetrator to take with him some warm clothes.

Now ten days later nothing has happened and the perpetrator is back in his house neighbouring the offended house. To understand this the following surrounding fact can be explained:

The soldier came to Knin in September, overtook a nice large house since the legal owners filed in August. Having established himself he just needed electricity. That he got from the neighbouring house, which happens to be the one the offended lives in. Not being the legal owner of the house he frequently stated that he would burn down the house, if he had to leave it for the legal owners, should they return, as they have stated to ECMM that would like -if they could. The news about Sector East made him frustrated because he didn’t agree with a peaceful solution for that area, so he had to react.

Now the offended, knowing that the soldier will not be charged, nor evicted form the house, have to live with this neighbour. The truck was a valuable item and needed in the future daily live. It now requires a thousand-deutsch mark repair; a very large sum of money in these areas. Who is going to pay? The offended, who -by the way have- no job, or the perpetrator the soldier.

This case is selected not by the gravity of the crime, but because it is recent, is very small and simple, straight and - should- be easy to handle. It had it all: the perpetrator who got arrested, the corpus delicti, the witnesses, and the offended. What happened? Nothing.
At the same time the case is a clear example on how the everyday
discrimination works in praxis.

VARIVODE: A CASE WITH CONSEQUENCES
On 28 September in the small hamlet west of Kistanje and east of
Benkovac called Varivode a massacre on at least nine old serbs
took place. The case is generally regarded as the case in autumn
1995 that made Croatian administration start taking the security
problems seriously. In the whole 8 weeks before, the situation
was the one of even more anarchy than today. In that sense the
Varivode became the "straw that broke the back of the camel".
This was due to heavy international pressure on Croatia for the
lack of attention to the security. In the first days after the
massacre, on the beginning of October police patrol were now
checking the remote areas. Before they were not doing their job,
but now the Croatian image was at stake.
A lost of documents have already been published about the case
itself, so these will not be repeated. The case was serious for
Croatia because it had it all: The gravity of the crime, the
gruesome circumstances, one surviving witness, a quick discovery
and international monitors quick attention. The case lead to the
change of Chiefs of police in the areas affected.
Looking in retrospect, the murders in Varivode are no different
from all the other cases, receiving no special attention. These
cases -where it must be assessed, that it’s only the tip of the
iceberg- do not receive the proper attention when it comes to
investigations.

THE COURTS AT WORK: THE SAGA OF THE SERB "TERRORISTS"
When the courts want to be fast, they can be. The courts in
Zadar, Gospic and Split have processed the first cases against
the serb who are charged with armed rebellion, looting, burning
of insulting during the "Krajina"-time. It is difficult for the
international organisations to keep track of the trials since
only little or no information are given about the trials, that
are public. However, after some managed to get up to speed with
the cases.
The following shows some of the problems, according to
statements by the prisoners themselves:
- Difficulties to get witnessed of the accused, because they are
either unavailable or intimidated to give testimony.
- The lawyers appointed by the Courts are often not available
and lack commitment of the cases or they each handle many
cases leaving no room for a proper defence.
- The charges are constantly changed due to lack of evidence.
- The general lack of family contact.
- Assaults and beatings by the guards.
- Inability to comply with the new croatian property
registration laws deadline 04 December 95.
The witnesses for the trials have either chosen not to appear in
Court, since they fear for reprisal from other croats,
neighbours etc. If they come to Court they often refuse to
testify in favour of the defence. This lead in general to situations were the charges cannot be seriously refuted. The assaults in custody is even being admitted by prison wardens, and it seem that this is just one of the problems in the present situation heavily charged with the feeling for revenge. Even when people know, that ECMM is not presently in a position to influence the procedures in these cases, many have felt the need to expressed their feelings and bring out their knowledge in defence of those they know. However, they want to remain anonymous, because -as they say- they are going to stay and build a new life here.

An example of conviction is one of the detainees, Mr. Maricic Ilija, handed over from UN Sector South camp on 16 September, who was recently tried in Zadar. He was first charged with genocide, then this charge was dropped due to lack of evidence, then accused of arson, then dropped and accused of looting because he was seen by one croat witness carrying a small bag. He was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment. He was jailed after one day of hearing and testimony. The witness refused to testify for fear of reprisal.

Will some the croats who have been caught by the police looting in August-November 1995 face the same consequences..?

There are many Krajina serbs who committed crimes during the time they were had power. The above mentioned is in no way meant as a defence for them. Many cases are well known also to ECMM. But the present campaign have got the smell of a "looking for scapegoat"-campaign.

At this stage it is not clear how many detainees there are in total.
THE ECONOMY -OR THE PEOPLE

The region is not rich in itself. The tourists that generate wealth along the Adriatic coast, do not visit the hinterland. In this sense the distance between the rich coast and the generally poor hinterland is far bigger than the geography imply. What is build in here of value have taken dedication and time. Property is generally inherited and the basis for the existence in the area. People are therefore not highly mobile unless heavily forced. This was the case for the majority of the croats in 1991. And as they got expelled in 1991 so did the krajinaserbs in august 1995.

Without intense labour input the region cannot generate wealth.

In more usual terms is means that a lot of people have to work hard in the low-tech factories and in the rocky and mountainous agriculture and forestry.

By expelling people, the region losses significant economical potential. The willingness to allow people to return and work is therefore an indicator not only for the level of tolerance but also for the economical ambitions for the region.

PROPERTY HANDLING: HOUSES

Without accommodation no people, and without people no economic prospect. After 100 days of Croatian rule it is obvious that the majority of the former workers and farmers of the region is being prevented from returning. One of the most significant step in this process is the Croatian Government decree promulgated 31 August. The decree called for reclamation of property -moveable and immovable- before 04 September, otherwise the property would be placed under temporary control of the Croatian state. The property must further be personally used by the owner. The decree was for all practical reasons providing for a large scale overtaking of practically all serb owned property in the region without compensation thus removing their basis for return.

An important question in the modern Croatian state is: do you loose the right to your property, just because you are temporary away from the country?

After international criticism the deadline for the reclamation was extended to 04 December. This will in no way change the effect of the decree since a tight bureaucratic wall between Serbia and Croatia is preventing the larger return of people.

(The possibilities of return will be examined below).

Annex 5 provide the easy read full account of the law and the human right related remarks. This piece of legislation have been heavily criticised including in UN Security Council Resolutions 1009 and 1019, but so far without any changes made.

THE PROPERTY SITUATION AS OBSERVED ON THE GROUND.

By beginning of September the majority of houses intact had found new inhabitants, who just entered. If the house was attractive and somebody lived there, then they were in some cases driven out by force.
The following example from ECMF patrols 19 October shows the usual situation:
In Ocestovo (WJ 9177) during the investigation of the alleged mass grave in the open field. It seems a grave containing app. 3 bodies, dug 7 weeks ago. Team KNIN learned from the lady (identified), who showed us the grave, that yesterday the house of her brother-in-law was looted 'to the ground' and the 3 looters (in civilian clothes) said to her, after her plea not to do so because he wants to come back, "How can he come back if we are living here now?" was the answer.

The most numerous group of occupants was and still is after 100 days the soldiers. From patrolling in Knin the frequent sign on the houses is "occupied" and accompanied by a paper issued by the Municipality office for housing matters. This paper just state the situation, that a certain house is occupied by a new person being either DP or refugee. Since soldiers had priority they are often the formal overtakers, despite they may never have been in the house.
In many cases the houses are not used to house people but they are simply taken over by new persons, that in this way can get an extra house. The document presented in Annex 6 is derived from a noble house, that have not seen anybody since medio September. In this way the so called "temporary user" have got hold of a fortune in this area.

BUT THE ARCHIVES...
The reasons for a quick takeover of all available property and would be if the situation was generally chaotic, lives threatening to a lot of unaccommodated people, large numbers of people on the roads had to be accommodated AND if no archives on property existed. This is not the case in this area. But the case is that archives do exist, and they are updated and accurate. The majority of property archives were maintained during the "Krajina"-time following.
It must be assessed that one of the very important consequence of such a contemporary archive and survey should be that (a part of) the raison d'etre behind the quick property campaign with the famous 04 DEC 95 deadline disappear. If the houses are registered properly and "new" people in the mean time use them, there is no reason why an additional period of time is not added to allow for a good and controlled return for those Croatian citizens of serb descent, and for those croats that lived as DPs since 1991. If there isn't another motive behind the close deadline.
Having exhausted all other possible motives and taking into consideration the hastiness of the deadline 30 September and 04 December, there remain only one, and it falls close to ethnic cleansing by legal means.

Annex 6 gives the an account of the property handling in a short chronology of events and the related questions and remarks.
RESTARTING INDUSTRY IN OLD FACTORIES

The economy is generally old fashioned, low tech and organised in the Tito-style. This is the starting ground. Add to this that the managers are generally poor in quality, because nobody really want to come to this area unless they are born or worked here before. Just the endless problems to get accommodation deter many from even trying. Despite that it is not stimulating for the quick restart, if you don’t know the legal framework you are working in, and the general security situation is unsure.

Since the mountainous farming is generally burned, the key sectors in creating employment is the security apparatus; police and military, the public services, local administration and the forestry.

The security apparatus have already generated the majority of jobs, but the people are all from non-“krajina”-areas. The public services are generally manned by professionals from Zadar, Split or Sibenik and they do not live in the area yet. The Railroads employ app. 200, but are scheduled to expand jobs. But since they cannot either get the flats, they officially are entitled to, there is nowhere to accommodate people who could come and take up work.

The forestry still have difficulties for a number of reason: many facilities are burned down or used for accommodation purpo. The labour force is lacking and uncertainty about mine intensity/threat in the forest areas in and adjacent to the former zone of separation.

An illustration of the state of the industry is the two single large employers in the area: the screw factory "Tvik" and the textile factory "Kninjanka". They used to employ up to 5.000 people. Now the Tvik factory, that used to be one of the large screw factories in Europe have 50 employees. The factory will employ up to max 400 workers if production is restarted. The Kninjanka factory is believed to totally uncompetitive. Old markets are lost since new labour low-cost producers have taken over. May be the largest problem for the industry, as f.ex. Tvik is the lack of ideas how to privatize. The lack of skilled medium level managers is striking, not only in the reintegrated areas. The words "marked economy" and "privatization" seem like mantras. About the financing nobody knows, even on the Zupanje level.

UNEMPLOYMENT

With these economic realities a lot of one would expect a lot of unemployed. However this is not the case. The Zadar-Kninsko Zupanje, basically covering the whole Sector reported to EMM on the 16 November a complete covering picture - included as Annex 7- in total 1.201 registered unemployed in the reintegrated areas, hereof 903 in Benkovac, 283 in Obrovac and 15 in Knin. The figure 15 is strange, since the town holds a lot of unemployed. The explanation is that the branch office of unemployment in Knin is simply not working.

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HIDDEN UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISCRIMINATION
Those who in 1991 used to work in state owned companies, public services and alike or are in principle entitled to take up their former employment. However, this is of course not possible if the company does not function. If the company or service does not work, then the persons are entitled to either pension, unemployment compensation or social security, so in principle everybody should be secured an income of money enabling them to survive.

However, the reality is different, and part of the problem is called registration the other is discrimination.

To explain the general situation the following example (that is typical and representative of for the app. 150 interviews conducted in October-November):

A person, who want to remain anonymous but in here called D, use to work in the Railroads since 1986. As recommended in September D filed a request at the Railroad office for taking up the former job. The request was not accepted by the people working in the reception office, but turned back with the words, that D, having lived in Knin during the "Krajina"-time should pack and find the future in another place. D should take her work-book (personal registration document kept by the employer) and if D liked so register as unemployed.

Some days later D again filed the request. At this time D got told, that requests now had to be filed to the Railroads office in Split. The request was however accepted this time, but some of the words in it got changed by the secretary. The explanation given: "Just to correct a few things". D was told to come back later to learn news about the job.

Having waited and given no answers in primo October D went to Split Railroad office. There D was told to wait further, but no time was given. By medio November when no answer was given by anybody, D decided to go to the central Railroads office in Zagreb, to claim the right. After 1/4 of a year No news heard so far.

D is -so far- technically employed since the work-book is still kept by the Railroads, they work and pay salaries.

D have received no payment from the Railroads, no pension or any other donation or money from any office. If D needs money, then D have to take the work-book out and register as unemployed. But doing so automatically means a voluntary resignation from the job; then no job.

D is not charged as a war criminal, nor is any in the family, D have a clean criminal record; in short a ordinary person. D is a croat, the only problem: D stayed during "Krajina-time".

D is entitled to a lot, but receive nothing.

When ECMM last time met the Railroad managers and workers, they claimed they are understaffed. Having app. 200, but in need of at least 5 times more.

Another example where people cannot get their work back they had for years before 1991 is the school.

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Ankica Sesa have decided that she does not need to be anonymous, and this is her example: Having worked for nearly two decades in Knin school as a teacher (and being by many croats and serbs admired for her work. She had remained "neutral" during the "Krajina"-time) she was called in medio august to the school to help cleaning up and preparing for the reopening. She was happy to join again and expected to restart soon. But as the cleaning was done and the request for jobs was filed, the answer came to those who had worked in the "Krajina"-time: no jobs. The decision was apparently taken in Zagreb. She was a teacher in music, but realised that she could not get the job and decided to retire.

31 October when EMMM inspected the schools, both primary and secondary, it was stated by the directors that the school lacked teachers especially in math, biology and music. The number of pupils in the classes are therefore at the ceiling: 35 children. Many families visited by EMMM can have their children to school only one or few hours a day. Reason given: lack of teachers.

Annex 8 lists the similar case of Zagorka Kabler.

Another example of discrimination: 10 October: EMMM Knin met a former teacher, ethnic serb, (identified by Team) of the Drnis school. Due to disagreement with the "Krajina" leaders she did not work during the last four "Krajina"-years, but now she want to work. She saw new opportunities after August. But she can not get back working. According to her statement: The Knin school can offer her employment in the library of the Knin school. The school manager forwarded employment requests to Ministry of Education in Zagreb. The reply form the Ministry, however, did not include her name for people to be employed. The same happened with two more of serb ethnicity. All croat on the list got employment. It was not written but given oral that DP have the first priority.

RETURN: HOW AND WHEN
Many of the krajinaserbs and croats who fled in beginning of August want to come back, even when they know, that the future in here is not easy. The alternative: live as refugees in Serbia, Montenegro is dull. Therefore those who can find their way back do. It often cost a lot of money to bribe or to truck drivers or others offering the service of transportation. The routes goes via Hungary via any crossings that are open, badly guarded or bribeable.

In the UN Sector South mainly female have returned and the majority of them are form mixed marriages. The marriage was the usual reason they stayed during "Krajina"-time. By far the majority of the around 150.000-180.000 krajinaserbs now living away from their home have been unable to either get out of Serbia, Montenegro or into Croatia. The Croatian Governments office in Belgrade only register people wishing to return but nothing else. By 29 October according to head of the office Dr. Zvonimir Markovic the number was app
10,000. Many krajinsarbs, however, are not in a position to obtain passports to exit Serbia.

As Annex 9 shows, those who do manage to exit Serbia face the next challenge of getting into Croatia. This example is selected because -again- it's recent, simple, the people have personal documents, places to go to and families that can support them: in short it is manageable. Why are these elderly people prevented from returning?

RETURN AFTER 04 DECEMBER 95
The return after the 04 December will be difficult for those who have not been able to reclaim their property. Where to start? Where to live? Where to earn money? What to do in the burned land?

THE ADMINISTRATORS
After 100 days most of the people who actually run the reintegrated areas in here are returnees, the word for DP returning to the Reintegrated areas, not necessary to their actual hometown. The number of them working is not high, and many of them frequently complain to ECMM about being overloaded with work or understaffed. Their prime qualification is not their education, professional skills or high experience in running local administration. When you stroll around in their offices and facilities a striking feature is the general lack of office equipment like computers and other machinery that could speed up and make a lot of the basic work much easier, more accurate and available to those who need such information. When you exit the reintegrated areas and travel in the part of former "free" Croatia this type of equipment becomes more frequent. It is believed to be a matter of culture, education and time before this will spread.

WHO SHAPES THE POLICY?
The general elections for the national parliament held on 29 October produced a good result in the former Sector South for the ruling party HDZ. Election procedures varied a lot and the balloting wasn't secret. But in general the general elections played and still play a modest role for the majority of people living here. People simply doesn't speak much about party politic. There are more pressing problems in life. The local elections are believed to be in spring 1996, May. A public census is scheduled, and must be completed before local elections. These elections are of more interest to people, since it is the general feeling that a lot of problems nowadays in the Reintegrated areas are caused by the local administrators, who have the title "Government Representatives" and do not act on a elected popular mandate.

THE PICTURE IN THE MEDIAS
If the sole source of information about the area were the dominating printed and electronic medias, then one would not know about the destruction, the ongoing looting and the bottleneck in the system. Some problems, however, are presented
mainly the housing problems and the approach is in general that "Everything will be OK in short time, when just a few new people with greater skills are introduced". A typical -and peculiar way- of learning what other croatians living outside the area know about the situation in here occur when the issue of burned houses are discussed with DP moving to the area. Often -if they came later than end of August- the marked for good houses is slim. As the following two examples show, many people are quite surprised when they come:

22 October: Team KNIN interviewed a groups of VUKOVAR croatian DP (identified) that are in KNIN looking for houses. According to their them, they lived in ZAGREB as DPs, and for a period in GERMANY. Now they are loosing their DP status and have been told to go to KNIN, find a house and start working. Looking at different destroyed houses they were all under the impression, that the houses were destroyed during 04-06 AUG. They were surprised and disappointed to hear, that the houses were actually destroyed one month later; first week of SEP. Such a behaviour didn't really facilitate their housing problems.

16 November: Team KNIN interviewed bos. croat families being expelled from BANJA LUKA two month ago. The are as all the other non-CRO citizens of cro. descent very bad off. TC: These people come too late to KNIN: all the stuff is looted and the good houses are overtaken. When they learn that the houses they are given are burned or looted in late AUG- primo SEP 95, they are like question marks: who?, when?, how? why?: Many don't believe that HV units and soldiers now have two sets of furniture while they have a burned/ground-looted house with nothing.
CONCLUSION ON PART I

Serious human right violations continue to appear 100 days after into the Croatian rule. Many of these violations threaten the lives of mainly old people, who remained in the hamlets. The violations falls in two categories:

- official neglect: lack of determination from the responsible authorities to allocate resources that in general are available. Bureaucracy is often given as reason, but this bureaucracy is self-imposed and could be overcome in a society used to orders.

- criminal acts: far too many civilians and people wearing uniforms are recorded looting everything from private belongings, valuables, food, wood, building materials or other valuables needed for surviving of the people remaining. The lack of determination to establish working judiciary systems is one of the factors contributing to the anarchy. This have left room for a region where the Law of the Strongest prevail, -and the strongest use this law frequently.

In the towns signs of discrimination are clear and the function of the local administration is selective. Those who stayed -for whatever reason it was- during the "Krajina" period 1991-1995 are "marked" and in practice do not enjoy the rights as the rest of the Croatian citizens.

The economy suffer from structural problems from the Yugoslav time, some war damage and mediocre management. The large scale burnings in August-October of the countryside have ruined the agricultural prospect for the entire region for decades to come.

A de facto overtaking of property and the -still ongoing- looting have made the return of the legal owners generally impossible. Beside the administrative walls between the two states Serbia and Croatia, this will undoubted change the ethnic composition here.
PART II

THE INTERNATIONAL REACTION, THE UN RESOLUTIONS

The international reaction was largely triggered by the news media's coverage. For their coverage in the UN Sector South the media made great use of the international organisations and their knowledge of the area. This kick-started the process and it is an open question whether the pressure would have raised that high and fast without the presence of international organisations.

Having been started, the process gained momentum by every house on fire and every person being found killed.

During late September-October a number of delegations, some of political heavy weight, have visited the area. These visits paved the ground for the following reports and resolutions, that are and must remain the main basis when measuring/evaluating the actual "reintegration":

- UN Security Council resolution 1009 of 10 August,
- UN Special Rapporteur/ Human Rights Commission, report dated 03 November,
- UN Security Council resolution 1019 of 09 November,
- UN Secretary General Report dated 18 October.

Since they are all multi-page documents, only the 18 November Report, the UN Security Council resolution 1019 of 09 November are reprinted here in Annex 10, which also lists The Council of Europe statement dated 17 October 1995.

WAR DAMAGE OR WANTON DESTRUCTION? A DISCUSSION

In the month of October and November it became more frequent to hear assessments of "war damage". Various Croatian Government assessments were made for instance the "direct war damage" estimate of $20 billion from October 1995.

However, there are a number of questions that must be clarified before accepting such figures, for instance:

- What is destroyed during active battle in 1991?
  The period of battle between the Croatian defence forces and the so called "Krajina Serb Army" supported by the Yugoslav Federal Army.

- What is destroyed from December 1991 - July 1995?
  The period of "Krajina Serb" rule.

- What is destroyed during battle in Operation Storm?
  Starting 04 August and ending for all intents and purposes in Sector South by 06 August.

- What is destroyed after 06 August under "non-battle" circumstances.

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It is not difficult to distinguish between old damage and recent made damage, and this is also incorporated in the Annex 1 listing damage in villages. Deliberate burning of entire villages long after battle is ended must under no circumstances be "awarded". The irony would be total if reconstruction funds are given to allow non-legal owners to have an overtaken house reconstructed, while other funds are spend on housing the evicted in refugee camps.

As a prelude to the fight for international reconstruction funds there is need for reliable and precise damage assessment.
GENERAL CONCLUSION

It was a short battle in August 1995. The Croatian side won the war practically without resistance. The goal was to crush serb resistance. Then began the fight to win the peace. The goal was to prove to the rest of the world, that this was to become a place of Croatian law and order. This proved much more difficult. The "Reintegration" in praxis meant the creation of a desert for the poor with some oases for the strong.

The day number 100 of Croatian rule was marked by yet another house on fire less than 8 kilometres from KNIN and yet more locals being robbed of their few belongings. The judiciary system -crucial for the good reintegration- have been neglected. The consequences of this is general anarchy.

When the Croatian leaders for the first time had the upper hand, were the strongest, they had to prove, that they were different than the serbs, who are generally called "Chetniks": they turned out to be the same. The majority of serb call them "Ustachas".

What was the Croatian plan for the area? Land without people?

What began with artillery and continued with burnings have -so far- ended with laws making the return of ordinary civilians -wanting to continue their traditional live- impossible.
POST SCRIPTUM

The International organisations have played the role as The scrutinizing Eye. Where it was possible to focus attention and raise pressure, things changed. As soon as we moved away from these high attention spots, then the situation was quite different; meaning worse.

We cannot say that the "reintegration" can provide for the security and the respect of the human rights of the people by itself: it needs close supervision. But now the conditions for influence seem better than ever. The reason being the changed balance of power and the desire of the respective leaders to get their share of the (eventual) reconstruction funds.

If the international community is invited to help in the post war development, then the big question is: Are the Governments - including the Croatian - prepared to accept "Money with advise" or do they accept only money.

The aid can contribute to stability or it can widen the gabs. It depend on the conditions attached to the fund and the actual control whether these conditions are met or not. If not controlled there is a very large risk that the funds will further widen the gaps leading to future instability. The approach in the field work must be: "No insight and cooperation on human right issues; no money". It is not acceptable that funds only benefit a selective group of people.

To create basis for longer term stability, a system of justice is highly needed. To this end we have to move away from the paradigm: The serbs against the croats, the moslem against serbs, the croats against the moslems, etc.. This makes everybody both a victim and a perpetrator, leading nowhere. A shift to "the perpetrator against the victim" is needed to identify and stimulate the segments of stability and justice in the societies. These segments are present, they just need to be nursed.

Lessons learned: Good monitoring and timely reporting can change the course of events. If we had the impression that monitoring was not needed when "peace broke out", then the last 100 days proved totally different. What we learned -the hard- way in Croatian we shall use in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

If people -finally- should start to return to their home regions then monitoring of the initial phases is of paramount importance. Only this way can we ensure that a "vacuum" doesn't develop, where rumour and (minor) incidents can develop into repeated uncontrollable violence.
Some readers might say "They got it all wrong, the laws were different; it was supposed to be so and so, and the situation wasn't as it is described". To this we can only say: It might be that laws were different, and that a different picture was presented in the mass medias, but in praxis it turned out different. Given the benefit of the doubt to the system being described, we're still confident that being first hand observers living in the area provide for the best position to judge the developments.

Few examples -from highest to lowest- on this:
-Croatian President Tudjman, returning from a brief visit to the newly overtaken town of Knin, stated in public that the talking about burnings of property in the former "Krajina" areas was not true. Weeks later, confronted with massive compelling evidence to the contrary, he had to admit that burnings had taken place.
- A group of street sweepers in beginning of October being lined up down town Knin in one row with new cleaning equipment for the benefit of the brought-in TV crew. The TV news then became, that now all the garbage was being collected. However, the sweepers left with the TV crew and the garbage stayed.
- Knin hospital -in the newspapers- portrayed as the "no problem-place". In praxis people in the area have died from lack of care while others get the care.
Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights,  
*Military Operation “Storm” and It’s Aftermath*,  
Report, Zagreb, 2001

Tab. 1: Civilians Killed During and After Military Operation “Storm” (former UN Sector South), pp. 137-169  
Tab. 2: List of Killed and Missing Persons from the Refugee Columns, pp. 223-230  
Tab. 3: List of murdered and missing civilians in the area of the former Sector North with descriptions of executions, pp. 236-260
Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights

MILITARY OPERATION STORM AND IT'S AFTERMATH

REPORT

Tab. 1
are burned or devastated in such a way that they cannot be used for living without a proper reconstruction.

The standard of living in these areas was brought 50 years back, thus in many settlements there was no possibility for return and normal life. The Croatian government tolerates the continuous violence against the members of Serb minority and refuses to help them to rebuild their farms and houses. At least 34 persons were lightly or heavily wounded in the period from the beginning of 1996 until February 1999 in this region.

The Croatian government refuses to release data on killed or missing persons for whom there is also a presumption that they were killed and buried in secret places. The Government does not want members of Serb minority to return in a greater number in order not to spoil ethnically cleansed picture made by the military operation. At the same time the Croatian government does not comply with its own decisions and promises given to either Croatian or international public regarding the return of the Serb refugees, the return of their property, the aid for rebuilding their houses and solving all their other problems.

According to the CHC fact-findings the Croatian military and the police in this region violated the International Humanitarian Law. However, the CHC has not been dealing with persons who committed or were held responsible for war crimes. This right and obligation belongs to the capacity of the Croatian highest state authorities as well as to the ICTY in the Hague.

Recommendation

Based on this Report (and other specialised reports on human rights violations in the reintegrated regions) the CHC should demand that the Croatian government primarily apply the Constitutional and legal orders as well as orders from international documents which the Government has already ratified in order to change the situation in this field.

Comment

Department for the most severe human rights violations had not prepared such documents before because it had to deal with incidents and human rights violations of all residents in the region on a daily basis. However, numerous reports on fact-finding missions regarding the issue partly presented in this report were published. Due to the fact that violations of human rights have continued in a drastic way, we felt an obligation to warn the public by issuing this report.
ANNEX 1.

Civilians Killed During and After Military Operation "Storm"

(former UN Sector South)

Notes

1. These are the names of civilians killed during and after military operation "Storm" (started on August 4, 1995, at 5:00 in the morning) in the former UN Sector South, whose names the CHC has registered and investigated before the end of the year 1998. The list is not final.

2. At the end of the list there are the names of civilians who were murdered in different ways in the following years, between 1996, and 1999.

3. Along with the 410 killed during the military operation "Storm", by the end of 1995, the names of 24 people that were killed by various unknown means between 1996, and 1999, can be found at the end of this report.

4. Only 5 or 6 names on this list are questionable, but even if they were omitted, the suffering would not lose any of its weight.

I. Benkovac

Biljane Donje

1. Nikola VUKASIN, (m), Serb, called "Niko", Trljuge; he came back to the village from the refugee line and was murdered. The place of his burial is unknown.

Biljane Gornje

2.–3. Aleksa (Dmitar) MILIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1937 and Jeka MILIĆ, (f), Serb, born Gagić, burnt in their own house.

Brugud


1 N. N., (?) July 21, 1998, near church "Sv. Durđe", thrown human bones were found. It is unknown to whom they belong. It is possible they are from an already existing grave. (?) The CHC Activists didn’t organize the analysis of the found bones.
5. GRAOVAC, (f), killed with M. Graovac in front of the house. The place of burial is unknown. The body has disappeared.

Dobropoljci
6. Petrovka (Petar) KUŽET, (f), Serb, born on 1960, an ill person. She was burnt together with her house on unknown day.

Jagodnja Gornja
7. Vlado (Deko) MARIČIĆ, (m), Serb, around 50 years old, stayed in the village. Four months later he went to Biograd on the coast to get his personal documents, he got killed in Kokin-town. The corpse was not buried for 15 days.

Kolot

Kula Atagić
9. Ljubica STEGNAJLIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1920, found dead in the well on August 21, 1995, around 6:00 a.m. The day before she was alive. (Two armed men in civilian clothes threatened them)

Ostriva
10. Milivoj (Janjo) ATLAGIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1940, stayed in the house with his mother. He went to Varivode and disappeared.2

Plastovo
11. Dalibor DOBRJJEVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1973, is a student from Belgrade. He was visiting his relatives. Wounded on the August 4, 1995, during the bombardment of the village. He had died before he came to Kistanje. The place of burial is unknown.

12. Mile DOBRJJEVIĆ, (m), Serb, wounded during the bombardment on August 4, 1995. He died in a hospital.

II. Donji Lapac

Bešinci
13. Rade RADENOVić, (m), Serb, born in 1915, killed. The place of burial is unknown.

Biruvača
14. Milan MRĐEN, called "Mile", (m), Serb, born in 1931. He was killed after the military operation "Storm". The place of his burial is unknown.

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2 He was probably killed because two men in black uniforms killed two male persons in Varivode. These two men were unidentified and buried in Knin.
15. Dane OBRADOVIĆ, called “Daniša”, (m), Serb, born in 1907, without hand. He was killed and the place of burial is unknown.

Brezovac Dobroteski
16. Milan MEDIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1916/17, a mentally ill man. He was shot in the back. He was found on September 6, 1995 and half-buried in the village.3

Brotinja
17.–19. Dušan DRČA, called “Dujo” and a son and a mother. They were killed while driving on the truck near Bosanski Petrovac. The plane without marks bombed the truck.4

Dabašnica
20. Darinka VEJIN, called “Dara”, (f), Serb, born around 1910. She was ill and disabled person. She was burnt with the house.

Dobrosovo
21. Milan (Dane) MEDVA, (m), Serb, born in 1945. He stayed in the village. He was killed 4 or 5 days after the military operation “Storm”. The place of his burial is unknown.

Doljani
22. Marko ORELJ, (m), Serb, born around 1930. He was found dead in a well a few days after the military operation “Storm”.

Donji Lapac
23. Milan BRKIĆ, (m), Serb, killed. The corpse was buried with the stones near Korenica.
24. Dražen KORITNIK, (m), Croat, born on December 16, 1940, a doctor. He was most certainly killed on August 7, 1995 in a private restaurant in D. Lapac, then buried.5 He was seen alive that day around 9.00 a.m. The place of burial is unknown.

Gornji Lapac
25. Gojko (Jela and Nikola) BAJIĆ, (m), Serb, born on November 22, 1932, He was killed. The body disappeared. (He lived in Borčevac, a witness from that village saw a body of a dead man).

Kunovac
26. Ilija (Ilija) DAMJANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1909. He stayed in the village. Killed, but it is unknown if he was killed with armed weapon on purpose or during the shelling of Gračac.

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3 At the end of the August 1995 witnesses saw him alive on the Croatian television program in Dobrosovo, Donji Lapac.
4 It was probably the Serbian plane but it is possible the plane was Croatian.
5 Six people were killed in this restaurant and then burnt. One witness saw the body of the man with beard and sport shoes. This description is adequate to the description of the missing doctor Koritnik.
Kupinovo

27. Nikola TRNINIĆ — CVJETKOVIĆ, called "Nine Pavlov", (m), Serb. He was killed after the military operation "Storm". On the November 20, 1995 he was not buried yet. The whereabouts of his burial is unknown.

Lapačka Korita

28. Saja DELIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1904. The members of the 5th Corps of the Army of the Bosnia and Herzegovina beat her up. It is unknown who took her to Knin where she died on December 21, 1995. She was buried on the cemetery in Knin without the name.

Liiha Kaldrma

29. Savo BURSAĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1911 and killed on August 24, 1995. He was buried on the meadow not far from the house. The house was burnt.

30. Mićo PERIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1934, Kruškovac, a pensioner. He was killed in the vicinity of his house. The body disappeared.


Mišjenovac

32. Milan RADMANOVIĆ, called "Mile", (m), Serb, born in 1926. He was killed after the military operation "Storm".

33. Dašan RAŠETA, called "Dude", (m), Serb, born around 1929, killed. The place of burial is unknown.

Obljaj

34. Boja DIVJAK, (f), Serb, found dead in the well.

35. Milka DIVJAK, (f), Serb, found dead in the well.

36. Soka DIVJAK, (f), Serb, found dead in the well. 6

Opačda Dolina

37. Mane BLANUŠA, called "Maniša", (m), Serb, born in 1920. He stayed in the village. He was present at the gathering place in Zadar. He was found dead in the well, around October 17, 1995.

Orasvac

38.–41. Stevo AJDUKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1937; Ruža, (f), born in 1920 and Rade BIBIĆ, (m), born in 1919, Serbs and Marko (Marko) ILIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1940, Croatian army shot them on August 7, 1995, around 15.00 in the village. The place of their burial is unknown.

6 Persons under the numbers 34 and 35 are sisters who never got married. They lived together on the family estate.

7 T, born in 1947, ran from the scaffold.
Srb

42. Manda CIGANOVIĆ, (f), Croat, stayed at house. She had a broken leg. She was burnt with the house.
43. Soka KALINIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1915, an ill and disabled person. She was burnt in the house.
44. Mićo (Antonio) PERIĆ, (m), Serb, born on March 22, 1930, a prisoner. He was killed on August 8, 1995. The place of the burial is unknown.
45. Jovo REPAC, (m), Serb, born in 1948, He was burnt with his house.
46. Đorđe ŠEVO, called "Doko", (m), Serb, killed in his house and then burnt in it.
47. Dragana TRBULIN, (m), Serb, born in 1939, killed and buried at the unknown place.
48. Đuro VUJNOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1940, a teacher. He was killed and the place of burial is unknown.

Tiškovac Likši

49. Dušan BABIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1912, stayed at the house. He disappeared after the Croatian army came into the village (August 7, 1995). Witnesses claim he was killed.

III. Dreniš

Bišće

50. Ljubomir (Krsto) ĐAPIĆ, called "Ljubo", (m), Serb, born in 1933. He was killed at "Nenadić pump" on the entry to Knin.
51. Mile LUNIĆ, called "Mijo", (m), Serb, born on 1928, in hamlet Tatmire. He was killed.
52. Fejo LUNIĆ, (m), Serb, born on 1957, in hamlet Tatmire, killed.
53. Špirko LUNIĆ, (m), Serb, born on 1931, in hamlet Tatmire, killed.9

Bobodol

54. Vlado JANKOVIĆ, (m), unknown nationality, killed on August 8, 1995 and buried in the sand near the village.

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8 In the Serbian refugee line nearby Srh. MALENICA, Croat, around 27 years old, was killed too — strong body, from surroundings of Zadar. According to witnesses statement a Serb refugee captured (?) Malenica and took him with him, because he heard his son, a Serbian soldier, was captured by the Croatian army, so he planned to exchange them. Allegedly, nearby Srh a Serbian refugee heard his son is alive and free, he ordered prisoner Malenica to get out from the vehicle and then shot him near road. The CHC claimed for the certificate of MALENICA’s death or disappearance from the official authorities, but didn’t get any anwser. Nevertheless, the CHC knows that after the police had received these information about Malenica, they searched the spot where Malenica was allegedly shot and found and took away somebody’s bones. It has never been announced whose bones were they.

9 Mile, Fejo and Špirko Lunić were killed on the tractor nearby UNPROFOR camp, on the entry to Knin.
Cerovac
55. Branislav (Ilinko) ĐOKIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1963. He was a disabled person and did not serve the army. During the military operation “Storm”, the Croatian army took him outside the house and killed him.
56. Dašan ĐOKIĆ, called “Dulko”, (m), Serb, born in 1965 (Branislav’s brother). He was ill. The Croatian army took him too and promised to bring him back in two or three days.

Drniš
57. Milan JOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born on May 2, 1935 and killed on August 6, 1995.
58. Nikola SUBOTA, (m), Serb, born in 1945. The corpse was found on August 6, 1995. He was buried in Šibenik.
59. Grozdana ŠEPELJ, (f), unknown nationality, born in 1958. The corpse was found on August 6, 1995 in Drniš. She was buried in Šibenik.

Kadina Glavica
60. Milka PAVLOVIĆ, (f), Serb, burnt in her house.

Mislić
61. Mara MILETIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1934. She was killed and burnt in the house. (Two women were with her, but they ran through the window when the Croatian army came into the house)

Parlić
62. Draginja VUKŠA, (f), Serb, killed. The corpse was found in the well.

Trifunović
63. Tode GRUBIŠIĆ, (m), Serb, an old man. He was killed in the house and was not buried for the long time.

Žinčić
64. Marija PUŠKAR, (f), Serb, born in 1928. She was buried in Šibenik.

IV. Gospić

Barule
65. Mile RADMANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1910. After the military operation “Storm” he was in Gospić. He was killed and his head was cut off.

Medak
66. Marija GRBIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1913, a disabled person. She was killed and her corpse disappeared.
67. Dara MAODUŠ, (f), Serb, around 70 years old, killed nearby the house.
68. Jela MAODUŠ, (f), Serb, around 81 years old, killed. Her corpse disappeared.
69. Petar OKLOBĐIJA, (m), Serb, more than 70 years old, killed. The place of his burial is unknown.

Mogorić
70. Milko ĐAKOVIĆ, called “Ljubičić”, (m), Serb, around 90 years old. He was killed in front of the house. His head was found behind the house.
71. Đuro (Branko) RADAKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1952. He was killed in the house by bullet.
72. Janko (Jovo) MILOJEVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1938, killed, probably during the military operation “Storm”.
73. Dane RADEKA, (m), Serb, born in 1920. He was killed in Ploče on August 5 or 6, 1995. The place of his burial is unknown.
74. Rade (Stojan) VURDELJA, (m), Serb, born in 1929. He was killed during the military operation “Storm”. The place of his burial is unknown.

Ostrovica
75. Miljka (Nikola) DIMIĆ, born in Radaković on November 10, 193. She was killed in the village.

Papuđa
76. Milan TRAVICA, (M), Serb, 70 years old. The place of his burial is unknown.

Pavlovača Vrebački:
77. Đuro DRAGOSAVAC, called “Đuda”, (m), Serb, born in 1945. He was killed between Ploče and Udbina. The place of burial is unknown.
78. Nikola DRAGOSAVAC, called “Nikica”, (m), Serb, born in 1942. He came back from Dobroselo because of his mother-in-law. He was killed near Udbina and buried in Zadar.
79. Dušan GRAOVAC, (m), Serb, killed near Udbina. He was buried at the cemetery in Zadar.

Ploča
80. Mika BANJEGAV, called “Milka”, (f), Serb, born in 1913. She was killed in her house. Before that she was maltreated and then scalped and massacred. The place of her burial is unknown.

Raduč
81. Petar (Dane) BJELOBAZA, (m), Serb, born on October 17, 1947. During the military operation “Storm” he stayed in Raduč. He disappeared. Supposedly the corpse

10 The CHC’s field teams registate two unknown graves on the cultivated field in the village. On unknown day two persons were buried on the cultivated field. The graves are not marked.
11 In Papuđa, on June 2, 1998, a human skeleton was found. It is fortified that it belongs to male person, but identity is still unknown.
found in the village Papuča, in 1998, is his, more likely because the Croatian army arrested him. Mr. Blolobaba left with the Croatian army in the direction of Papuča.  
82. Milan GLUMAC, (m), Serb, born in 1911, in Radučki Drenovac. He was found dead in the middle of October hanging in the stable.

V. Gračac

Bruno
83. Nikola GUTEŠA, called “Nino”, (m), Serb, found dead in the well on September 1995.

Deringaj
84. Mika JOVANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, old man. He stayed in the house and got killed. The corpse disappeared.
85. Rade PETROVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1919, Gubačevo Polje, killed. The corpse disappeared.

Gračac
86. Marija BANJANIN, (f), Serb, 89 years old, a disabled person. She was found without head. He was seen last time on August 6, 1995, in front of the Police station in Gračac.
88. Stjepan DEKIĆ, (m), Serb, killed in Gračac. He was buried in Zadar.
89. Dušan PERIĆ, (m), Serb, found dead around September 10, 1995, nearby house. Police buried him in Gračac, without informing his family.
90. Milka TOJAGIĆ, (f), Serb, killed in Gračac. She was buried in Zadar.

Ivanici
91. Ana IVANIĆ, (m), Serb, found dead on September 6, 1995, near a brook in the village. The bullet wounds on the right leg were found.

Kijani
92. Dane BOLTA, called “Rekljić”, (m), Serb, 90 years old. He was killed in the village. The place of his burial is unknown.
93. Sava BOLTA, called “Savica”, (f), Serb, around 70 years old, killed. The place of burial is unknown.
94. Branko JELAČA, called “Đukančo”, (m), Serb, around 67 years old, killed.
95. Marija JELAČA, (f), Serb, born in 1913. She operated her hipbone and had difficulties walking. She was burnt in the house.
96. Milica JELAČA, (f), Serb, born in 1927 or 1930. She was killed in the village.

12 Peri Obradović, (f), Serb, more than 80 years old. She was frightened to death in the collecting center in Zadar, after the military action “Storm”.
97. Ana (Milica) JELAČA, (f), Serb, around 50 years old. She was deaf-and-dumb. She was killed and buried in the unknown place.

98. Smitja JELAČA, called “Minja”, (f), Serb, around 90 years old. She was found dead in Pustro polje, near the rock. Her legs were broken.

99. Dušan KESIĆ, called “Dujas”, (m), Serb, born in 1939. He was killed near the house.

100. Mileva KOLUNDŽIĆ, called “Damina”, (f), Serb, around 70 years old, killed.
101. Danica SOVILIĆ, called “Vojkanova”, (f), Serb, around 70 years old. She was killed on unknown day.

102. Mara SOVILIĆ, (f), Serb, around 75 years old. She was killed near the house.

103. Mira (Mara) SOVILIĆ, called “Skokevka”, (f), Serb, around 50 years old. She was killed in the village.

104. Rade (Mara) SOVILIĆ, called “Braco”, (m), Serb, born in 1947, killed.

105. Vlado (Mile) SOVILIĆ, called “Vlada”, (m), Serb, born on November 27, 1931. He came back home from the refugee line and got killed in the center of the village. The place of his burial is unknown.

**Kik**

106. Sonya PETKOVIĆ, called “Sokana”, (f), Serb. She was shot on August 8 or 9, 1995, in front of her house. The house was set on fire. She was buried in a ditch near the house.

107. Branjo ŽEGARAC, (m), Serb, born in 1912. He was burnt in his house on August 8 or 9, 1995.

**Mazin**

108. Đuro KONČAR, (m), Serb, born in 1935, Mazin no 58. He was killed in the village and buried in Gračac.

**Nadvođe**

109. Milan (Stevo) MILANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1908 and killed on August 7, 1995 with a knife and then burnt in front of the house.13

**Otrić**

110. Branjo GRBIĆ, (m), Serb, born on November 19, 1924. He was buried in the cemetery in Gračac.

111. Ilija VESELINOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born on December 8, 1931. He was found dead in the vicinity of the road Gračac — Otrić.

**Palanka**

112. Dušan BRKIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1926. Croatian soldiers killed him on August 7, 1995. The corpse was burnt. He was buried in Gračac, on September 15 or 16, 1995.

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13 The judge investigate Ladislau Jeudel and an expert Josip Dujella wrote as a cause of death: "The stabbed wound in the belly in fact abdomen organs."
Prijeko:
113. Stana BOGUNOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1910, killed during (or after) the military operation “Storm”. She was found dead on the New Year’s eve in the vicinity of her house.
114.–115. Nikola STARČEVIĆ, (m), Serb, 80 years old, father and Simo (Nikola) STARČEVIĆ, (m), son, found killed after the military operation “Storm” in the vicinity of their house.

Rastićevi
116. Manda STARČEVIĆ, (f), Serb, around 80 years old, very sick person. She was killed in her house and buried in Gračac.

Rudopolje
117. Ilija KORDIĆ, (m), Serb, and
118. Stojan KORDIĆ, (m), Serb, brothers, found dead in the well. One of them was a disabled person without hands and fingers on both legs. 14

Tomainog
119. Branko BRKLJAČ, (m), Serb, around 70 years old, killed. The place of his burial is unknown.
120. Đuro MANDIĆ, (m), Serb, 81 years old. He was slaughtered (and massacred) in his backyard around August 20, 1995. Firstly he was buried in the backyard, then his body was moved to Gračac, under the number 387, but without name on it.

Zmanja
119. Ilinka (Milica and Petar) BUDIMIR, (f), Serb, born in 1911, stayed at home. Between August 15 and 20, 1995 she was burnt together with her house.
120. Đuro ČANAK, (m), Serbia, 80 years old. He was killed at the end of September 1995. (His son Mirko died as a Croatian soldier).
121. Milka JORČIĆ, called “Miša”, (f), Serb, around 80 years old. She was killed in the center of village. The corpse was found three months later in the nearby canal.
122. Gojko KOMAZEC, (m), Serb, born in 1938, killed on September 6, 1995, with three bullets in his stomach. That day he was seen in the Gračac police station.
123. Stevo LUKIĆ, (m), Serb, killed on August 20, 1995. He was buried near the river Zmanja.
124. Boro MARČETIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1948, killed in August 1995. He was a disabled person. The place of his burial is unknown.
125. Milan (Smiljo) MARČETIĆ, (m), Serb, born on January 15, 1948, an ill person. Two Croatian soldiers took him out from the house on September 29, 1995, around 5.00 in the morning and they killed him with four bullets in the chest, 150 meters far from the house. The mother was watching the execution. He was buried at the local cemetery.

14 Their mother hung herself after their death.
Civilians Killed During and After Military Operation "Storm"

126. Vlado (Marija and Šura) MILANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born on October 23, 1936. Croatian soldiers killed him. He was buried in the house.

127. Dušan ŠTICA, (m), Serb, born in 1927. He was killed on September 29, 1995, around 17.0, in hamlet Milanovići — 10 soldiers dressed in bulletproof vests did it. He was buried at the local cemetery.

**VI. Knin**

**Biovitšino Selo**

128. Jakov MALBAŠA, (m), Serb, born on April 14, 1930, killed. He was buried in Zadar.

129. Obrad POPOVIĆ, (m), Serb, killed on August 7, 1995 in Biovitšino Selo.

130. Tode ŠORGIĆ, (m), Serb, who managed to escape under the fire opened by Croatian soldiers on August 7, 1995. He was found dead in the middle of October 1995 in the well, in neighboring village. He was forcibly taken from his house. The signs of struggle were seen in the house. There was a shoe left beside the bed.\(^ {13} \)

**Cetina**

131. Ana BARIŠIĆ, (f), Serb, more than 90 years old. She was killed ten days after military operation "Storm".

132. Sava BARIŠIĆ, (f), Serb, around 68 years old. She was burnt in her house after the military operation "Storm".

133. Stana KURUBSA, (f), Serb, born in 1920. She was killed ten days after the military operation "Storm". The location of her burial is unknown.

**Čulevo**

134. Stevan KUTLICA, (m), Serb, born in 1937. He was killed in front of his house on a second or third day after the military operation "Storm". The location of the burial is unknown.

**Đorske**

135. Mirko TOŠIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1927, killed on August 5, 1995. He was buried in the village.

**Ervenik**

136. Milan BARIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1916. He was found dead in a hole full with water.

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13 Croatian soldier Ivica Pelut, born on April 8, 1963, from 134 regiment, captured Obrad Popović and Tode Šorgić from Biovitšino Selo, who stayed at their houses. Other soldiers came across and opened fire, even though soldier Pelut yelled at them not to shoot. Soldier Pelut and a civilian Obrad Popović were killed and Tode Šorgić managed to escape. On the place of burial site of soldier Ivica Pelut, the 134th regiment raised a memorial on which is soldier Pelut called "Croatian knight".
137. Bogdan KOVAČEVIĆ, called “Boško”, (m), Serb, born in 1908. He disappeared after the military operation “Storm”.16

138. Obrad MRDALJ, (m), Serb, born in 1930. He was burnt in his house during the military operation “Storm”. He died from burns eight days later in hospital in Zadar.

139. Sava ŽEŽELJ, (f), Serb, born in 1920. She was slaughtered on August 8, 1995, in Ervenik, near the road.

Golubić17

140. Mara BIJELIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1930, wife.

141. Petar BIJELIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1930, husband.

142. Dušan DAMJANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1930, husband.

143. Duška DAMJANOVIĆ, (f), Serb, wife.

144. Boško, (Petar) VUKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1938.

145. Milica VUKOVIĆ, called “Mika”, (f), Serb, born in 1927, wife.

146. Tanasije VUKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1935, husband.

Members of 3. Regiment of 4. Brigade in Croatian army extra judicially executed them by shooting in Raljevac (between Knin and Plavno), in front of the house no. 84, whose owner is Đuro Dobrijević. The house was set on fire after the execution, and bodies were collected 25 days later.

147. Glišo ĆUČAK, (m), Serb, born in 1937, (?) He was shot on August 6, 1996, in his house. He was buried on August 16, 1995 at the cemetery in Knin. The grave is not marked.

148. Milka GRUBIĆ, (f), Serb, around 60 years old. She was shot on August 6, 1995, in the house of Glišo Ćučak, where she found shelter while Croatian army was entering the village. She was buried at the cemetery in Knin without marks.

149. Đuro JERKOVIĆ, called “Nine”, (m), Serb, born in 1926. He was killed (slaughtered) on August 6, 1995 in his backyard. His corpse was buried 10 days after under the sign “NN” at the cemetery in Knin.

150. Jovan JERKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1936. He was killed on August 6, 1995, nearby house of Đ. Jerković. He was buried anonymously 11 days later, at the cemetery in Knin.

151. Zorka KABLAR, (f), Serb, 80 years old. She was killed around August 15, 1995. The corpse was found on September 8, 1995.

152. Tode MARIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1929, (?) He was killed on August 6, 1995, at Kesić well, in the village.

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16 There are indications that he was killed in Mokro Polje, and the body was later thrown into the grave of family Trivić in Knin.

17 Townsmen, Serb soldiers, who intended to surrender, Željko (Cedo) Marić, (m), and Branko Milanjević, (m), born in 1936, Serbs were killed too. It is unknown where is the location of their burial.

18 First group of soldiers that came into the village wounded him in arm after what they gave him medical help and left the village. The second group killed him.
153. Jeka OPAČIĆ, (f), Serb, around 80 years old. She was killed on August 6, 1995, on the road nearby her house. She was buried on August 28, 1995, in Knin, without marks.

154. Nikola PANIĆ, called “Nikica”, (m), Serb, born in 1935. His head was found 50 meters from the body. 19

155. Branko RADNOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1920. He was shot on August 6, 1995.

156. Maša RADUJKO, (f), Serb, born in 1927, wife and

157. Nikola RADUJKO, called “Nikica”, (m), Serb, born in 1925, husband. They were killed on August 6, 1995 from a fire gun in their house.

158. Vaso RADUJKO, (m), Serb, born in 1918. He was shot on August 5/6, 1995.

159. Milica ŠLJIVAR, called “Mika”, (f), Serb, born in 1936. She was a disabled person in a wheelchair. Unidentified Croatian soldier shot her in the head with a gun and her head burst. She was buried on August 16, 1995, in Knin, without marks.

160. Vaso VASIĆ, (m), Serb, born on 1922, in hamlet Radinovići. He was shot on August 6, 1995 in his yard.

Gostići

161. Dušan BORAK, (m), Serb, born in 1937, (Buried in Knin under no. 544)

162. Grozdana (Vasilj) BORAK, (f), Serb, born in 1920, (549)

163. Kosara (Todo) BORAK, called “Kosa”, (f), Serb, born in 1920, (546)

164. Marija (Savo) BORAK, (f), Serb, born in 1915, (550)

165. Milan BORAK, (m), Serb, (545)

166. Milka BORAK, (f), Serb, born in 1920.

167. Savo (Vasilj) BORAK, (m), Serb, born in 1925, (548)

168. Vasilj (Vasilj) BORAK, called “Vaso”, (m), Serb, born in 1927, (547).

Persons under no. 161 to 165 and 167 to 168 were killed in their houses or yards on August 27, 1995.

169. Gojko LEŽAJIĆ, (m), Serb, killed on August 11, 1995, in front of his house.

Grubori

170. Jovan (Damjan) GRUBOR, (m), Serb, 73 years old. He was burnt on August 25, 1995 in his house.

171. Jovo GRUBOR, (m), Serb, born in 1930. He was slaughtered on August 25, 1995 at the meadow while he was guarding caws. (Two caws and a dog were shot too.)

172. Marija GRUBOR, (f), Serb, born in 1905. She was killed and then burnt in her house on August 23, 1995. (Jovo Grubor’s mother).

173. Milica GRUBOR, called “Mika”, (f), Serb, born in 1944. She was shot on August 25, 1995, near house.

19 Soldiers played football with his head.
174. Miloš GRUBOR, (m), Serb, born in 1915. He was killed on August 25, 1995 with two bullets in his head and back. The body was found in pyjamas, near bed, in a blood pool.

175. Đuro KARANOVIĆ, (m); Serb, born in 1950. He was shot on August 25, 1995. The face was smashed.

176. Petar (Dušan) VIDOVĐIĆ, (m), around 55 years old. He was killed on August 19, 1995. He was buried in Knin.

177. Stevan VIDOVДIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1945. He was killed at the end of August, 1995, while he was bringing water to a donkey.

Ivoševci

178. Boško GRČIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1937. He stayed in the village and he was seen alive on August 6, 1995 at 15.30. He disappeared. Victims claim Boško was killed, but the place of burial is unknown.

179. Dušan KOROLIJA, (m), Serb, born in 1949. He was found dead in the well on September 12, 1995.

180. Gojko KOROLIJA, (m), Serb. He was burnt in the house.

181. Milica KOROLIJA, (f), Serb, born in 1912. She was killed few days after the military operation “Storm”. The location of her burial is unknown.

182. Milka KOROLIJA, (f), Serb, born in 1907. She was killed on August 9, 1995 in her house.

183. Ruža MANOJLOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1937, (wife) and

184. Stevo MANOJLOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1940 (husband). They were killed together in the community store on August 6, 1995, in the evening hours, in Mokro Polje, where they found refuge. They were massacred, then burnt. Forty days later they were buried in Knin, without names.

185. Saje (Joško)RAĐIĆ, (m), Serb, 78 years old, without arm. He was found dead (the body started to decompose) on September 21, 1995 on his bed in Mali Ivoševci.

186. Jovan RELIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1924. He was killed on August 8, 1995, then burnt on the stairs in a wine cellar. Wine cellar is located bellow the house. He was buried in the garden, near house.

187. Mirko (Petric) STRBAC, (m), Serb, born in 1910. He was deaf-and-dumb and he could hardly move. He was killed in house and then burnt.

188. Mirko (Vaso) STRBAC, (m), Serb, born in 1943, a disabled person. He was not in an army and he stayed at home. Mirko was found dead in a pool in Cerovac, nearby Relić (Ivoševci).

189. Mirko STRBAC, (m), Serb, around 70 years old. The corpse, which started to decompose, was found in the yard on September 12, 1995.

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20 Ruža Manojlović was firstly raped in front of her husband Stevo. After they taken away their remains at the place of liquidation remained Ruža's right arm.
190. Manda Tišma, (f), Serb, around 65 years old. She was shot on August 9, 1995, in front of the house. Soldier Željko Šunjerga killed her. He was released from charges at the County Court in Zadar.

191. Ilija Vujasinović, (m), Serb, 75 — 80 years old. He was killed a few days after the military operation "Storm". His head was found in a pigsty, few meters away from the body.

192. Jovan (Janjo) Vujasinović, (m), Serb, born in 1942, from Vujasinovići, killed on August 6 near Kistanje.

Kakanj

193.–194. Uroš Ognjenović, (m), Serb, born in 1928 and Uroš Šarić, (m), Serb, born on September 5, 1920. They were killed on August 18, 1995 in the evening. Three men, two of them in Croatian army uniforms, killed them. They were buried in Zadar, under no. 445 and 446. (Mirko and Radostav Ognjenović were wounded).

195. Danica Šarić, (f), Serb, born in 193, killed. Around August 10, 1995 her body was thrown in the water cistern. She was taken out from there and buried in the garden.

196. Vojin Šarić, (m), Serb, born in 1910, shot in the chest, around August 10 and thrown in the water cistern.

Kistanje

197. Stana Bezbarda, killed in the house.

198. Jovanka Bokun, (f), Serb, stayed in the village. She was found dead on December 13, 1995.

199. Milan Jović, (m), Serb, born in 1910, found dead on August 7, 1995. He was buried in Šibenik.

200. Stevan Kneta, (m), Serb, born in 1914, killed. He found shelter in the chapel near church.

201. Dušan Lalić, called "Duši", (m), born in 1945 or '46, killed on the road to Stara Straža.

202. Joka Mažibrada, (f), Serb, around 90 years old. She was found shot through in the house cellar. She was buried in Knin, under no. 543.

203. Manda Mažibrada, (f), Serb, born in 1910, a disabled person. She was killed on August 7, 1995. They hung to the metal rods for grapevine beside the house. She was stabbed, too. She was buried in Šibenik.

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21 Željko Šunjerga "...he met her in the village and she kept her hand under the apron and he thought she had a gun in the hand..."

22 International organizations and the CHC registered two killed unknown men near monument in Kistanje, the corpse of unknown man and a female crumbled corpse on the entry to Kistanje, two and a half months after the military operation "Storm".

23 A daughter received a number under which she was buried allegedly. During the exhumation she wasn't found under the given number, even though several persons were buried under that number.
204. Slobodan (Milan) STRBAC, (m), Serb, born in 1959. Slobodan stayed in the house. He told everybody else to stay in his houses. He was killed and the place of burial is unknown.
205. Savo (Nikola) TRAŽIVUK, (m), Serb, born in 1944. He stayed in the house. The place of burial is unknown.

Knin

206. Nikola ARULA, (m), Serb, killed on August 5, 1995.
207. Sava BEŠEVIĆ, (f), Serb, killed on August 6/7, 1995.
208. Aleksandar BJELOBRK, (m), Serb, killed. He was buried on the cemetery in Knin.
209.–210. Ana JELIĆ, (f), born in 1907, and Ivan JELIĆ, (m), born in 1905, Croats. They were killed in their house on August 7, 1995.
211. Mišo MARKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1961, he was at home between 10.00 and 11.00 on Saturday, August 5, 1995. He was killed and buried without name.
212. Momčilo MARIJANOVIĆ, (m), Serb. He was killed from a grenade on August 5, 1995, nearby "Dinarka" in Knin.
213. Ana MILANKOVIĆ, (f), Serb, killed in the house. He was buried in Knin.
214. Lazar MILANKOVIĆ, called "Lazo", (m), Serb, killed in the house. He was buried in Knin.
215. Zagorka OGNJENOVIC, (f), Serb, killed. She was buried in Knin.
216. Miloš TODOR, (m), Serb, around 50 years old, stayed in Knin. He went to Zagrovci. He was found dead (killed) near road, a month later.
217. Jovan (Stevanija and Savo) TRESKAVICA, (m), Serb, born in July 13, 1942, a disabled person, a keeper in the firm "Dinarka". He was killed on August 5, 1995, before noon. Even though his wife was there, the location of his burial is unknown.
218. Dragica VUKŠA, (f), Serb, old between 90 and 95. She was found dead in the well on November 13, 1995.
219. Dmičar VUJANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, shelled. Found dead in the hospital in Knin.

Kovačić

220.–221. Milan MILIVOJEVIĆ, called "Mile", (m), born in 1911, a father and Ilija (Milan) MILIVOJEVIĆ, called "Ili", born in 1933, a son, killed from fire

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24 1. On August 4, 1995, around 9.00, the UN registered 15 unidentified dead bodies of men, women and children—on the main road in Knin. They were found dead. (a few soldiers were found among dead bodies whose bodies were later taken out from plastic bags, then ran over with tanks or riddled with bullets.)
2. On the entry to Knin 5 unidentified dead bodies between 30 and 70 years old, were found.
3. Six men on tractor that were coming from Kosovo to Knin to surrender were killed. Four of them wore Republika Srpska’s uniforms and they were shot.
4. On Sunday, August 6, 1999, around 10.00, a truck was carrying a group of dead bodies. The blood was running and "their brains were running, too".
5. In the same time a lot of blood was seen in front of police building.
6. On the entry, near the bar, there were seven dead civilians. One of them — across the road — was in the uniform of Republika Srpska, etc.

25 A female dead body without head was registered in Knin.
weapon on August 7, 1995, in their house. Croatian soldiers in masked uniforms killed them. The bodies were taken on August 12, 1995. The location of their burial is unknown.

222. Nikola VUKMIROVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1953. During the military operation "Storm" he was hiding in the house of Šarčić, near hospital in Knin. On Saturday, August 5, he went with a group of refugees to the UNHCR camp. One woman left her purse in the shelter and he came back to get the purse. He was arrested and executed.

223. Pajo VUKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, around 70 years old. He was seen alive on August 6, 1995. It means he was killed on August 7, 1995. The place of his burial is unknown.

Mokro Polje

224. Ražica BABIĆ, called "Ruža", (f), Serb, born in 1926. She was killed on August 6, 1995, after 17:00, at the house doors. She was buried in unknown grave in Knin.

225. Sava (Spasenije) BABIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1913, shot. She was shot with two bullets on August 24, 1995 in "fićo", in front of the house. She was buried in Knin.

226. Milan (Rade) DEMIR, (m), Serb, born in 1942. He was killed on August 6, 1995, by a grenade from a rocket launcher, nearby house, where he was buried. His house was set on fire in the same time.

227. Jeka (Luka) KANAZIR, (f), Serbia, born in 1928, on August 17, 1995. She was thrown in so-called Pavlović’s water cistern. Forty days later she was buried in Knin.

228.–229. Mirko (Stana and Obrad) POPOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1952, (son — mentally retarded) and Stana (Mile) POPOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1926, (mother). Two Croatian soldiers shot them in the house on August 7, 1995, around 15, 30. (in the same occasion Obrad POPOVIĆ, a father and a husband was wounded). They were buried on the meadow 800 meters from their house.

230. Stevan (Draginja) SUČEVIĆ, called "Stevos", (m), Serb, born in 1934, shot on August 9, 1995 on the road called Supleće — bullet in his back. Soldiers burnt him and his remains were taken to the cemetery in Knin 40 days later.

Očetovo

231. Savo SOLAJA, (m), Serb, an invalid person. He was burnt alive in the house on August 6, 1995. His house was first set on fire in the village.

Orlić

232. Vladimír (Petar) ČOLOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1934, killed. The location of his burial is unknown.

233. Todor MARIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1931. He was killed on August 13, 1995, at 14, 30 in front of his house. Three men in a yellow car, wearing army uniforms came to him. He was buried near house.

26 In Očetovo two unknown killed persons were buried. They were found near church in Pađeni.
234. Predrag (Đurđa) SIMIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1965. He was killed on August 6, 1995, around 16.00, in his yard. He wasn’t a soldier because he refused it. He was in Serbian prison in Bratkova, where “Captain Dragun” was in charge, for eight months. He was buried on August 9, 1995 in the yard near his house.

Own

235. Milića KARANOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born on August 14, 1909. She was blind and ill. She stayed at home and was burnt in the house.

236. Nikola PAŠIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1948, shot from a gun behind the family house. His stomach was cut through and he was stabbed in the heart. He was buried in the garden.

237. Branko (Nikola) SUDAR, (m), Serb, born in 1937. He was killed in the yard, near well. His head was stroke with a gun or something else because the top of the head was picked. He was buried in the nearby well.27

238. Ilija (Dimitar) SUDAR, (m), Serb, born in 1922. He was shot from a fire weapon in his yard on August 18, and found dead on August 24, 1995. He was buried on the meadow near road.

239. Marta VUJNOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1910. She was shot from a fire weapon on August 18, 1995, in the afternoon, nearby house. Her son Jovan buried her there.

240.–241. Marta (Mato) VUJNOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1905, a mother and Stevo (Marto) VUJNOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1939, a son, were shot from a fire weapon on August 18, 1995. Marija was massacred in the house and Stevo was massacred, too, in front of the house. They were found dead on August 21, 1995. The other son Momčilo found his mother’s skull in the house on September 6, 1996.

242. Duka ŽUNIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1910. He was killed on August 6, 1995, and thrown in the well.

Padane

243. Marta ILIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1908. He was found dead in the house. (A rocket fired by Croatian army hit the house).

244. Milica SMUĐA, called “Mika”, (f), Serb, born in 1923. Her head was cut off on August 6, 1995 and thrown in the well. Her body remained standing upright and leaned against the wall. The corpse decomposed and remained unburied.

245. Mirko ŠUPELJAK, (m), Serb, killed on August 6, 1995 and thrown up into water cistern. He was buried in Knin.

Plavno

246. Pero (Petar) BURSAČ, (m), Serb, around 70 years old. He was killed in the garden.

247. Luka BOJANIĆ, (m), Serb, around 75 years old. He was killed in the nearby church and buried at the local cemetery.

27 On August 10 or 11, 1995, a witness found dead B. Sudar and a slaughtered goat in his house.
248. Joka (Spasenije) CVIJANOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1902, Cvijanovići — Plavno. She was found dead on November 23, 1995, around plum trees in the village Japalaci. She was buried at the cemetery in Zorici.

249. Milka DRAGIŠIĆ, (f), Serb, born in February 28, 1926. She was found dead on August 20, 1995 on the meadow nearby house. She was shot in the eyelid. She was buried in Knin. 28 (Donkey and two sheep were shot in her vicinity. One sheep had a telephone machine around the neck)

250. Lazo DUBAJIĆ, called "Major", (m), Serb, born in 1920. He was shot several times in front of his house. He was buried in the meadow nearby house.

251. Savo ĐURIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1942, a disabled person in a wheel chairs. He was thrown alive into the fire on August 6, 1995, around 18.00. Soldiers didn't allow his mother to save him from the fire. He was buried at the local cemetery.

252. Kuzman PAIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1900. He was killed in front of the house, even though he raised his hands as a sign of surrender. He was buried in the nearby meadow.

253. Petar PERIĆ, called "Pero" (m), Serb, born in 1920. He was killed (slaughtered) in front of his house while his wife was bagging soldiers not to burn the house of their son.

254. Branko RODIĆ, (m), Serb, around 65 years old. He was killed nearby the school. The corpse disappeared.

255. Andelka RUŠIĆ, (f), Serb, around 43 years old, a mentally ill person. She was killed nearby the house of a forester Joso Starčević.

256. Andi RUŠIĆ, (f), Serb, 97 years old, killed in front of her house and buried in the nearby ditch.

257. Miloš (Marko) SAMARDŽIJA, called "Mile", (m), Serb, born on 1927, or 1928, in Padini. He was guarding sheep with people from Plavno in the mountains. He was seen "in the possession" of the Croatian police. He was found dead six days after military operation "Storm". He was shot on October 12, 1995. A dead sheep and a dog were found near him. They were also shot. He was buried at the nearby mountain hut.

258. Todor (Danča) SAVIĆ, called "Dušan", (m), Serb, born on October 22, 1908. He was cut — massacred in the shed. He was buried nearby the house. (Together with his neighbor Kuzman Paić).

259. Ramiz SLJEPEČEVIC, (m), Muslim, around 45 years old. When Croatian army was approaching him he raised his hands and said: "I am a Muslim". They answered him: "That is what we need" and shot him.

260. Milica STARČEVIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1934, or 1935, a teacher. She was killed and the location of her burial is unknown.

261. Branko ŠIMIĆ, (m), Serb, born on 1949 in Karanovići. He was killed in the yard of his house. He was a mentally ill person. When Croatian soldiers entered the house, they took the watch from his hand and took Branko with them. Vasilije's mot-

28 Her husband Lazo Dragišić, b. 1919, and disappeared after August 13, 1995
her bagged soldiers to leave Branko because he is ill. They replied that they were taking him to the doctor but they killed him nearby the house. His mother buried him there with the help of the neighbors.

Poluča
262. Ilinka CRNOGORAC, (f), Serb, born in 1928. She was shot in the back on August 16, 1995 in her house. She was buried in Knin — line number 594. Her house was set on fire later.


264. Mile (Stevo) DRAGIČEVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1933. He was found dead on December 28, 1995. A judicial expert stated the time of death “around five months ago”. He was killed on August 5, 1995, around 10.00 at Kovačići.

265. Nikola DRAGIČEVIĆ, (m), Serb, born on 1935, in Turčić and Savo ČEKO, (m), Serb, around 40 years old. They were killed on August 5, 1995, at 10.00 at the crossroad near Kovačići. They were driving on the tractor towards Knin while Croatian army fired at them.29

266. Duška MIRKOVIĆ, (f), Serb, an old woman. She was killed in the village.

Radijevac
267. Jovan MARKELIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1937. He was killed on August 18, 1995. He was found dead on the street, in front of the house of Branko Markelić in Donji Markelići.

268. Vojin TINTERI, (m), Serb, killed in the village.

Ridane
269. Milan BALIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1919. He was shot in his yard at the beginning of September 1995. His property was set on fire.

Rudele
270. Mile (Petar) GRULOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born on March 10, 1946. He was killed on September 1, 1995 in Rudele. He was hung on the chain and a water bucket was on his head. He was found dead on November 1996 and buried in Kistanje.

Smrdelji
271. Milan (Milos) VRANJKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1941. He was shot in the village on August 6, 1995.

272. Nikola (Dušan) VRANJKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in December 19, 1952. He was wounded on August 6, 1995 and he died in hospital in Šibenik. He was buried in Šibenik.

273. Savo (Mirka) VRANJKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1936. The grenade killed him on August 6, 1995. The place of his burial is unknown.

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29 Mile and Nikola Dragičević and Savo Čeko, were driving on the tractor towards Knin. Four persons were with them. Witnesses claim that those persons ran after the fire was open from the tank. They assume they rescued themselves.
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Strmica.30
274. Mišo (Vojin) BAČKONJA, (m), Serb, around 40 years old, a mentally ill person. He was killed on August 5, 1995, and buried nearby house.
275. Jovica (Maro) BURSAĆ, (m), Serb, killed in the vicinity of the tunnel. He was buried in Knin.
276.–277. Andža, (f), around 60 years old and Draginja DRAGAŠ, (f), around 65 years old, Serbs, (sisters), were burnt alive in the house ten days after the military operation "Storm".
278. Jeka KRIČKA, (f), Serb, around 50 years old, a mentally ill person. He was killed in the village.
279. Đuro LOŠIĆ, (m), Serb
280. Jovanka (Maro) MIZDRAK, called "Joka", (f), Serb, 51 years old. She was killed on August 5, 1995 and buried in the meadow in Mizdrakovac, in the ditch made by a grenade.
281. Stevan (Ante) MIZDRAK, called "Stevo", (m), Serb, born in 1910. He was killed in front of his house near the main road Knin – Bosnia and Herzegovina, on August 5, 1995. The place of his burial is unknown:

Variovo.31
282. Jovan (Vasilije) BERIĆ, called "Jovo", (m), Serb, born in 1920 and killed on September 28, 1995.
283. Jovan (Jandrija) BERIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1939. He was killed on September 28, 1995 around 17, 30 in the village.
284. Marija BERIĆ, (f), called “Mara”, Serb, born in 1930. She was killed on September 28, 1995, in the village.
285. Marko (Golub) BERIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1913. He was killed on September 28, 1995, in the village.
286. Milka BERIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1924. She was killed on September 28, 1995 in the village.
287. Radivoj (Tomo) BERIĆ, (m), called “Rajko”, Serb, born in 1926. He was killed in the village on September 28, 1995. (Husband of Marija Berić, under the number. 284.)
288. Špio (Mile), BERIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1940. He was killed on September 28, 1995, in the village.
290. Marija POKRAJAC, (f), Serb, born in 1911. She was killed in the village.

30 In one of the hamlets of Strmica, the CHC registered two unknown graveyards. After the military operation "Storm", at least two unknown persons were buried inside them in the meadow.
31 Three unknown civilians killed in Varivoje have been registered: they were two men and a woman for whom is presumed that she was raped before she was killed.
291. Mark POKRAJAC, (m), Serb, born in 1911. He was killed on September 28, 1995, in the village. Persons in black uniforms shot those nine persons from Varivode.

Usdolje

292. Duja BERIC, (f), Serb, born in 1920.
293. Janja BERIC, (f), Serb, born in 1931.
294. Stevo BERIC, (m), Srh, born in 1930.
295. Milos COSIC, (m), Serb, born in 1924.
296. Jandrica SARE, (m), Serb, born in 1934.
297. Krsno SARE, (m), Serb, born in 1930.
298. Milica SARE, (f), Serb, born in 1922/23.

Three Croatian soldiers shot them in the village on August 7, 1995. They were ordered to sit and then they shot them.

299. Stana SARE, (f), Serb, born in 1915. She was burnt in the house.

Vrbnik

300. Duro AMANOVIĆ, called “Doko”, (m), Serb, a civilian, born around 1925. He was killed during the military operation “Storm” in the center of village near the Social club. The corpse disappeared! (Members of the Croatian army).
301. Radovan (Mara and Špiro) AMANOVIĆ, called “Rade”, (m), Serb, born September 20, 1957, a civilian, a disabled person. He was killed in the center of the village, near the Social club. The corpse disappeared! (Members of the Croatian army).
302. Lazo (Luca) DAMJANIC, (m), Serb, born in 1933. He was killed on August 6, 1995. Three soldiers, two of them with long hair and “pony tails” took him out from the house. He was ill and he could hardly move. (His head was crushed, as well as jaw. His stomach was perforated and his legs were broken.)
303. Ilija DJUKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, around 29 years old. He was arrested and put in prison. He was beat up and transported to another prison. Allegedly he was killed during the transport and his dead body was thrown in the ditch in the village of Bobodol.
304. Mihajlo DJUKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1942. He stayed at home. He was put in prison and then beaten until he died.
305. Stevo KNEZEVIĆ, (m), Serb, an old man. He was killed in the center of the village, near the Social club. The place of his burial is unknown.
306. Staka ŠKARIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1919, or 1920. She returned to her house from the refugee line. Very likely she was killed on August 7, 1995, in her restaurant. She was buried near the house.
307. Dušan VUKADIN, called “Duško”, (m), Serb, born in 1947. He was killed near his house where he was buried as well. Before that he was beat up and on August 5, 1995, between 17.00 and 18.00 he was shot.

Persons killed in Varivode were buried in Knin, even though their relatives wanted to bury them with dignity on the local cemetery.
308. Savo VUKMIROVIĆ, (m), Serb, around 73 years old. He was burnt with his house. He was ill.

Žečevi

309. Janko ČAKIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1937. He was killed after the military operation "Storm" on August 18, 1995. He was shot in his house and then burnt together with the house.33

310. Ljeposava MANDIĆ, (f), Serb, killed on August 8, 1995. Her corpse was on the road until August 29, 1995. She was raped. The place of her burial is unknown.

311. Vuk MANDIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1953. He was last time seen in the village on August 9, 1995, when Croatian army took him and killed him.

Žagrovici

312. Obrad BOJANIĆ, (m), Serb, around 46 years old. He was killed in the village.

313. Jovo DIMITROVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1936. He was killed on August 5, 1995, in the afternoon, in front of his house. He was buried in Knin, 21 days later.

314. Stevan DIMITROVIĆ, called "Stevco", (m), Serb, born in 1943. He was shot five or six days after the military operation "Storm". He was buried in Knin, 21 days later.

315. Ika DONJUR, called "Dedika", (f), Serb, around 70 years old, Bradaši — Straža, killed. (Croatian army)

316. Vera DONJUR, (f), Serb, around 50 years old. Bradaši — Staro Straža, killed. (Croatian army)

317. Tode MILOŠ, (m), Serb. He was killed on the road to Gornji Žagrovci.

318. Tode NONKOVIC, (m), Serb, born in 1914. He was hung.

319. Ilija PETKO, (m), Serb, born in 1950, a son and

320. Milka PETKO, (f), Serb, born in 1925, a mother. They were shot on August 6, 1995, around 16.00. They were found dead in Rašule.

321. Đuro RAŠKOVIC, (m), Serb, born in 1924. He was shot near his house. Croatian soldiers forced Anda Ražković, a neighbor and Mile Zelembab, from Knin to bury him near his house, in the garden, near creek called Radjevac.

322. Đuro RAŠULA, (m), Serb, born in 1945, killed.

323. Đuro RAŠULA, (m), Serb, 38 years old. He was found dead on August 29, 1995.

324. Mile RAŠULA, (m), Serb, around 45 years old. He was found dead on August 29, 1995.

325. Mile RAŠULA, (m), Serb, born in 1914, killed.

326. Mile Đuro RAŠULA, (m), Serb, born around 1940, killed. Others from Rašule, were found dead in the bush on August 6, 1995.

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33 Zvonimir Lasan, a Croatian soldier killed her. On February 28, 1996, he was illegally convicted to six years of imprisonment.

34 Two men, only wearing sleepers were lying dead near the bus station, first turn to the main road from Žagrovici. One of them was Mile Todor while another was unknown. Some of them had cut off three fingers on their right hand.
327. Nikola ZELEMBABA, called “Nine”, (m), Serb, born in 1921. He was killed on entrance to his house on August 6, 1995. First, he was wounded from fire gun and then stabbed with a knife. His son Glišo buried him near the house. Today there is the rubbish heap in that place. 35

328. Manda ZELIĆ, (f), Serb, around 70 years old. The shrapnel killed her.

VII. Korenica

Antop Dol
329. Nikola BABIĆ, called “Nikan”, born in 1928. A wood plank near the house killed him. He was not buried for 15 days.

Frukče
330. Đuro ĆUPURĐIJA, (m), Serb, around 80 years old. He lived in Belgrade. During the military operation "Storm" he was in the village where he was born. He was killed and then burnt in the house. He had "Parkinson's disease". Allegedly he was taken to Otočac and buried there.

Jošani
331. Mile RADAKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, called “Kus”, around 65 years old. He was killed two months later by a metal bar.

Kapela Korenča
332. Mara KRGA, (f), Serb, born in 1920, killed. Witnesses say she died from starvation.

Komić
333. Marija BRKLIJAČ — UGARKOVIĆ, called “Mara”, (f), Serb, born in 1921. She was burnt alive in the house on August 12, 1995, between 12.00 and 13.00.
334. Staka ĆURČIĆ, (f), Serb, 45 years old. She was killed on August 12, 1995.
335. Sava LAVRNIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1903. She was killed on August 12, 1995, a mother and
336. Petar (Savo) LAVRNIĆ, (m), Serb, 65 years old, a son were killed also on August 12, 1995. (Their house was burnt). 36
337. Mara MIRKOVIĆ, (f), Serb, a wife and
338. Rade MIRKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, a husband. They were killed on August 12, 1995.
339. Miška PAVLIĆA, (f), Serb, born in 1904, a blind person. She was burnt alive in the house on August 12, 1995.

35 Unknown persons physically maltreated his son Glišo. They were probably robbers, but armed. Soon after he died from injuries.
36 The CHC buried mother Savo and her son Peter Lavnid, at the local cemetery in 1996.
Civilians Killed During and After Military Operation “Storm”

340. Mika SUNAJKO, (f), Serb, born in 1915. She was killed on August 12, 1995, near Klapavica.
341. Rade SUNAJKO, (m), Serb, born in 1909. (Husband of Mika Sunajko) He was killed on August 12, 1995, at 13:00, near neighbor’s house (Gojko Mirković) in Poljice. He was buried in the orchard.

Korenica

342. Miroslava (Ljubica and Ilija) PETROVIĆ, called “Mira” and “Mirjana”, (f), Serb, born on July 4, 1947. She was killed around August 10, 1995. The place of her burial is unknown.
343. Marta PRICA, (f), Serb, around 80 years old. She was killed.
344. Zdravko SOVILJ, (m), Serb. He was shot on August 10, 1995, in Korenica. The place of his burial is unknown.
345. Milivoj VRČEK, (m), Croat, around 30 years old. He was shot on August 10, 1995, in Korenica. The place of his burial is unknown.

Lito Petrovo Selo

346. Petar BOBIC, called “Pepa”, (m), Serb, born in 1913/14. He was killed in front of the house. The place of his burial is unknown.
347. Rade BOBIC, (m), Serb, killed at the gas station.
348. Zdravko CARIK, (m), Serb, around 30 to 35 years old, killed. He was a refugee from Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was buried in front of one house.
349. Nikola ORLIC, (m), Serb. He was killed and buried in front of the house
350. Oleg PAVLOVIĆ, (m), Russian, born in 1951, a doctor. He was killed near the army base in Željava.
351. Željko POTKONJAK, (m), Serb, a refugee from Vrsta (Bosnia and Herzegovina). He was killed in Izačić.
352. Marija VESELICA, (f), Serb, an old woman. She was buried in the ditch made for whitewash, near the house.

Mutilić

353. Nikola KOSOVAC, (m), Serb, born in 1909. He hung himself from fear during the military operation “Storm”. He was buried in Gračac.

Novo Selo

354. Nedjeljko LEKA, (m), Serb. He was killed near the church Saint Petar. The place of his burial is unknown.

37 At two locations in Korenica there were shootings of civilians and soldiers (in the town and in the village) registered. Soldiers from the UNCRG camp registered near their camp 21 civilians that were running. After that a cross in Korenica showed up with 21 “NN” marks.
38 Dukanica Koca claims that soldiers took Miroslava Petrović from her house, pushed her into the car and took away her. Others claim she was taken to the cemetery and killed what means she was buried there as well and her grave is under some cross without marks.
39 He registered at the UNCRG camp on August 6, 1995. He was handed over to the Croatian army just for a talk. He didn’t return to the camp.
Pećani
355. Dane KASTIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1951. He was seen alive on August 10, 1995. The corpse was found on August 24, 1995, in the sitting position. His head was intact at first but later on it was crushed.

Udbina
356. Mićo RADMANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born on July 8, 1932, killed. He was buried at the cemetery in Gračac.

Vituč
357. Rade (Božo) STOJKOVIC, (m), Serb, born in 1926. He disappeared. He was found dead at the end of 1995.
358. Momčilo ORLIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1934. He came back from the refugee line from D. Lapac to village to release the cattle. He was killed between Udbina and D. Lapac.

Velio
359. Andelija PETRIČIĆ, called “Anda”, (f), Serb, born in 1908. She was killed eight days after the military operation “Storm”.

VIII. Obrovac

Krupa
360. Stevo TRAVICA, (m), Serb, born in 1921. He was killed in the mountain Gosuša while he was guarding the cattle.

Golubić
361. Nikola DRAGIČEVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1930. He was killed in the woods of Gosuša.

Nadvoda
362. Janja GROZDANIĆ, (f), Serb, around 80 years old. She was killed.
363. GROZDANIĆ, (f), (mother of Vaso Grozdanić), killed. Only her head was found. She was buried in the vineyard.
364. Jovan KRNJAJA, (m), Serb, around 70 years old. He stayed at home where he was killed.
365. Ilija ŠVONJA, (m), Serb, around 65 years old, killed.

40 A male person with cut veins was registered. It was probably a murder.
41 His sons were killed with him: Vlado and Čedo. Witnesses claim they hid from the Croatian army because they did not want to leave Croatia, while others say that his sons were in uniforms of Republika Srpska army and that is the reason why three of them were killed.
Zelenograd

366. Vujadin ČEPRNJA, (m), Serb, around 70 years old. He was found dead in front of the house on November 3, 1995.
367.–368. Mijat GAGIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1914, a husband and Milka GAGIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1914, his wife. They were slaughtered a day after the military operation “Storm” at the entrance to their house. They were buried anonymously, under the numbers, in Gračac. 42

Žega

369. Ratko KOVAČEVIĆ, (m), Serb, around 40 years old. He was killed on the mountain Gostuša.
370. Petar KOMAZEC, (m), Serb, around 60 years old, killed.
371. Zoran KOMAZEC, (m), Serb, around 50 years old, killed.
372. Dušan MILIĆ, (m), Serb, 56 or 57 years old and
373. Jovan MILIĆ, (m), Serb, around 62 years old (brothers). They stayed at home and got killed.
374. Petar MILIĆ, (m), Serb, 57 or 58 years old. He stayed at home and got killed
375. Todor MILIĆ, (m), Serb, around 64 years old. He stayed at home during the military operation “Storm” and got killed.
376. Zoran MILIĆ, (m), Serb, 58 or 59 years old. During the military operation “Storm” he stayed at home and got killed.
377. Marko PERIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1921. He was killed while he was guarding the cattle on the mountain Gostuša.
378. Stojan UŠTJEĐRKA, (m), Serb, around 30 years old. He was wounded near Krušev, arrested and then killed.

IX. Otočac

Dobar

379. Miče ČUTURILIO, (m), Serb, 83 years old. He was killed by an axe in the village.
380. Anica (Laz) VLAŠAVLJEVIĆ, (f), Serb, 74 years old. She was shot at the entrance to her house.
381. Milan VLAŠAVLJEVIĆ, called “Mikan”, (m), Serb, 61 years old. He resisted the Croatian army. He was wounded and then shot in the mouth.

Doljani

382. Milka (Soka and Jovo) ĆURČIĆ, (f), Serb, 83 years old. She was shot in front of her house.

42 Son Đuro, who lives in Ljubljana, for a year didn’t manage to find out what happened to them and where they were buried.
43 In 1997, field activists of ČHC 1997 registered remains of human skeleton nearby the keeper house at the entrance to the factory “TRIO”.
383. Ranko GRBIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1953. He was killed on August 6, 1995, near the family house.
384. Danica (Danu) HRKALOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1912. She was burnt with the house.
385. Petar HRKALOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 56 years old. He was shot in front of his house.
386. Zorka HRKALOVIĆ, (f), Serb, 76 years old. She was killed in her house and buried in the garden, near the house.
387. Marija (Budo) Jović, (f), Serb, born in 1941. She was found dead in her house. 44
388. Staka (Baço) Jović, (f), Serb, born in 1910. She was killed in her house and buried in front of it.
389. Jela MANDIĆ, (f), Serb, 83 years old. She burnt in her house.
390. Milan (Milica and Vlado) NARANČIĆ, (m), Serb, 43 years old. He was burnt in his house.
391. Stojan (Marija and Vlado) NARANČIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1953. He was shot near the castle on the slopes of Mala Kapela.
392. Dusko (Milan) RUŽIĆ, (m), Serb, 64 years old. He was shot in front of his house.
393. Stojan (Miška and Vajo) VUKMANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1929. He was killed near sheep on the slopes of Mala Kapela.

Škare
394. Nikola STOJANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 65 years old. He was killed, his head was cut off with an axe in Doljani.

Zalužnica
395. Marianko (Savka and Milan) HINIC, (m), Serb, born in 1946. A Croatian soldier shot him on August 6, 1995, while he was in a refugee line between T. Korenica and Debelo Brdo, in front of his mother Savka, born in 1915.
396. Milan HINIC, (m), Serb, born in 1910. He stayed at home and got killed. The place of his burial is unknown. 45
397. Vukašin HINIC, called "Vujo", (m), Serb, born in 1911. A Croatian soldier shot him in front of his house on August 6, 1995. He was buried at the graveyard Vodoteč, eight kilometers from Brinje.
398–399. Žarko POPOVIĆ, (m), Serb, around 75 years old, a husband and Marica POPOVIĆ, called "Maca", (f), Serb, around 70 years old, half blind, his wife. They stayed at home. Žarko was taken out from the house and killed. The place of his burial is unknown. His wife Marica was killed in the cellar of the house and then burnt together with the house.

44 The manner in which she died was not discovered.
45 Wife Savka, b. 1915, with her adopted son Srdjan, returned from the refugee line to her house but she didn’t find a husband. She was watching Croatian army burning her house. Before that she was watching how Croatian soldiers were taking away her property. One soldier wanted to kill her, the but other one saved her.
400. Branko VUKOVOJAC, called “Braco”, (m), Serb, born in 1947. He was shot several times in his house on August 6, 1996, and died three days later.46
401. Željko UZELAC, (m), Serb., born in 1960. He was killed on August 6, 1995, at Brakusov brije, near Vrhovina. He was buried in Vodoteč.

X. Sinj

Kojani
402. Jivo MILJKOVIC, (m), Serb. He was killed during the military operation “Storm”. The place of his burial is unknown.
403. Mirko MILJKOVIC, (m), Serb. He was killed during the military operation “Storm”. The place of his burial is unknown.

XI. Šibenik

Čista Mala
405. Božica LALIĆ, (f), Serb, born on January 13, 1933. She was killed on August 4, 1995.
406. Draginja LALIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1920. She was killed and buried in Šibenik.
407. Darinka POPOVIĆ, (f), Serb, Born on January 31, 1935. She was killed on August 4, 1995.

Jabuka
408. Nikola JOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born on October 1, 1941. He was killed on August 5, 1995.

Ladesci
410. Dimitri VUJNOVIĆ, (m), Serb, killed on August 6/7, 1995. The place of his burial is unknown.

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46 Part of Croatian army soldiers didn’t kill Branko Vukovojac, some of them even drank coffee with him because they probably knew him. When second group of Croatian army soldiers came, one of them fired three bullets at him without prior warning. Branko died three days after.
Civilians killed since 1996 to 1999
(I. part — former UN sector South)

1996.

Benkovac

\textit{Pared}\textsuperscript{1}

1. Stevan (Ignjatije) VOJVODIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1934. He stayed at home with his
mother who died in April 1996 in hospital in Knin. After she died, their house was
set on fire and all traces of him got lost.

Gospić

\textit{Mogorić}\textsuperscript{2}

2. Ouka (Lazo) NOVKOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1906. She died in October 1996, un-
der strange circumstances. Dogs dragged her dead body around.

Pavelovac Vrbaliki

3. Milorad MIŠČEVIC, (m), Serb, 75 years old. He was killed on August 14, 1996,
around 14.00 by a surprise mine that was put under the broken doors of his house.

Knin

\textit{Golubić}\textsuperscript{3}

4. Simo DEPINA, (m), Serb, died from asthma attack on May 24, 1996, while he was
trying to save his son’s house from robbers. They also maltreated him.

Korenica

\textit{Jezercce}\textsuperscript{4}

5–6. On February 26/27, 1996, Milka, (f), born in 1915, and Dane KALEMBER, (m),
born in 1913, Serbs were killed and burnt with the house. They were buried with-
out knowledge of their daughter Nedjelja Brozović, who lives in Duga Resa.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{47} Zoran Špoljar, 20 years old, killed them and then surrendered to the police. The result of the court pro-
cceedings is not known.
7. Mićo RADAKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, called “Žujić”, born around 1941. He was found dead in the spring 1997, in front of his house. Officially he froze to death in front of his house, unofficially he was killed.

Pišat
8. Dušan CVIJANOVIC, (m), Serb. He died from a surprise mine on June 24, 1996, while he was digging the potatoes.48
9. Đuro MASNIKOVA, (m), Serb, born in 1930. He was wounded badly and died from wounds on July 20, 1996, in hospital in Rijeka.

Obrovac
Bišani
10. Mišica OLUJIĆ, (f), Serb. She was killed near her house around January 20, 1996. The police did not find the perpetrator.

Otočac
Zalužnica
11. Mirko NOVAKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 53 or 54 years old, a disabled person. He was found dead in August 1996, in his house. People from the village claim he was killed while the police didn’t declare this death case.

1997.

Gospić

Gospić
12. Milan BRAKUS, (m), Serb, born on June 5, 1953, from Zalužnica. He was imprisoned in Gospić and suspected of a war crime. On April 29, 1997, he committed a suicide, officially. The CHC’s unofficial information is that M. Brkus was seriously maltreated and finally murdered.49

Mogorić
13. Stana (Stoja) ČANKOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born in 1914. She was burnt with the house on January 6, 1997. She was burnt in the village.

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48 Two more persons were wounded by the same surprise mine. A horse that was dragging the cloak was killed too.
49 Judicial discussions about alleged crimes of Milan Brkus, which the CHC has registered did not provide the true basis for the charges.
Korenica

Korana
14.–15. Marijan — Vinko (Ivan) FERDEBAR, (m), Croat, 38 years old, (Smoljanac, Rakovica) and Mile — Milan VALENTIĆ, (m), Croat, 32 years old, from Zagreb. They were killed on September 13, 1997, between 21, 30 and 22.00, in the yard of brothers Milan and Rade (Agata and Božo) HAJDUKOVIĆ, (m), Serb and unknown nationality, in the village Korana. (They were prosecuted and the invalid decision was brought according to which they were sentenced to 10 years of prison, in fact 20 years.)

Srednja Gora
16. Jovan ČANKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born in 1939. He was killed on August 8, 1997, around 10,30 by a surprise mine that was put in the hay.

Otočac

Ponori
17. Vaso GROZDANIĆ, called “Vajo”, (m), Serb, 57 years old. He was killed in his house on May 27, 1997.

Gospić

Ostvica
18. Mileva (Lazo) VIDOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born on July 15, 1938. She was badly injured by a surprise mine that was on the little road that leads to her garden. She died from injuries in hospital in Rijeka on October 12, 1998 at 15:45.

Knin

Knin
19. On the December 6, 1998: around 16.00 Dušanka (Pesar) RADONIĆ, (f), Serb, born on 1948, in the village Orlić, was killed in her garden. Civilians and persons in masked uniforms: Ivan KROLO and Jure ĆUK from Gornji Muć, killed her, allegedly they are hunters. They also killed her dog. They claim they killed her because her dog attacked their dog. When Jure Ćuk killed her dog, D. Radonić reacted. Ivan Krollo shot her in the back. After she fell down J. Ćuk hit her with a rifle in her head. They left her lying there.
Korenica

Čušić Krležina
20.–22. Mara, (f), 58 years old, Žarko, (m), 30 years old and Siniša BRAJKOVIĆ, (m), 4 years old, Roma, from Petrinja. They died from a surprise mine on May 9, 1997, in an empty, burnt house of the owner Nikica Čušić (he started working on reconstruction). They were looking for an old iron.\textsuperscript{50}

Otočac

Brglo
23. Anka OGRIZOVIĆ, (f), Serb, 79 years old. A surprise mine killed her on September 11, 1998, while she was digging the potatoes. The mine was hidden in the porcelain container that was placed in the line of potatoes\textsuperscript{51} 1999.

Otočac

Brglo
24. Nikola KARLEUŠA, (m), Serb, born in 1921. He was killed on February 2, 1999, by a surprise mine that was placed in the hay. He activated the mine when he wanted to take the hay to his cattle.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{50} Peter Brajković, (m), Rom, 53 years old was seriously wounded on that occasion.

\textsuperscript{51} Her husband, Mile Ogrizović, (m), Serb, 81 years old, was also seriously wounded.

\textsuperscript{52} The following day, on February 3, 1999, at the same spot Zvonko Delić (m), Croat, 35 year old, a police officer from the Ličko Senjska police station was wounded by a second surprise mine.
Tab. 2
of women had stayed in the village of Komogovina, with the intention of waiting for the Croatian Army. Then, a man appeared with a little truck and forced those women to climb in and go with him. The truck was covered with a canopy and it could not be seen who was inside.

"There were some 15 women and children in the truck. Near the medical center in Kostajnica, the Croatian Army received them. They shouted to the driver to stop the car. He did so, but soldiers started to fire on the truck. Mara Gojsavić was killed at this time, and two women were injured."{28}

Sunja municipality{29}

In this area, a large number of residents went into exile. In the occupied part of Sunja, a few, mainly elderly, people remained, most of whom were killed in their houses. The greatest number of the victims were from the village of Četrtnikovac. The residents started their journey into exile on August 5, 1995. The column went in the direction of Kostajnica–Dvor and Sisak–Popovača. There is no data as to whether any people were killed in this column. The column was stoned on this road, and a few refugees sustained minor injuries.

Vojnić municipality

During military–police operation Storm, 463 persons remained in Vojnić and its surroundings. Residents from Vojnić began their journey into exile during the afternoon and evening of August 6, 1995. Residents from Svinice, Ivočević Selce, Knežević Kose, Radmanovac and other hamlets also left this area.

"We took to the road on August 6, 1995 at 2:00 p.m. We arrived in Topusko and then continued to Glina. We then reached Žirovac, where we stayed for 24 hours. There, we could not go forward or move back. In front of us, the column was assaulted from the right side. This was a Muslim area; they were firing at us. There was panic; people dispersed and hid. Dead bodies were strewn all over the road and on the sides. I saw about 20 dead people."{30}

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28 Based on statements of witnesses, the driver said that after being stopped and asked who was in the truck, he answered that the "army" is in there. Croatian soldiers then reacted by shooting into the truck and killing Mara Gojsavić. Several other women were heavily and lightly wounded.

29 Sunja was within the municipality of Sisak according to the 1991 census, but has been indicated here separately for the sake of clarity.

30 Witness A. N., Vojnić, Karlovac county
4. List of Killed and Missing Persons from the Refugee Columns

**KARLOVAC COUNTY**

*Duga Resa municipality*

1. Milić (Nikoleta) BOGDANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born around 1916 in Donja Perjassici, Donja Perjassca 13, **Duga Resa Municipality**, Karlovac County. He went into exile on August 5, 1995. After he separated from his son and wife near the hamlet of Ćatrina, every trace of him was lost. It is still not known what happened to him.

2. Todor (Spasova) GRUBIŠIĆ, (m), Serb, born around 1920 in Ponorac, Ponorac 9, **Duga Resa Municipality**, Karlovac County, Glina-Dvor. He went into exile and disappeared in the area of Žirovac.

*Karlovac municipality*

3. Sava (Đurđa) BIŽIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1910 in Dugi Dol, Dugi Dol 45, **Karlovac Municipality**, Karlovac County. He went into exile and was last seen in Topusko.

4. Desanka (Miloša) BOŽIĆ, (f), Serb, born around 1923, Budačka Rijeka, Budačka Rijeka 108, **Karlovac Municipality**, Karlovac County. She went into exile on August 6, 1995, and was killed in the territory of Žirovac, where she was hit by a grenade thrown from an airplane.

5. Dragica GOJKOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born around 1923, Donji Budački, **Karlovac Municipality**, Karlovac County. She was in the column that was on the road from Sisak to Serbia. She was stoned while travelling in the column. As she received no medical assistance, she lost blood on the road and subsequently died. Her daughter buried her in Serbia.

6. (f) KOSIJEK, called Ćane, (m), Serb, born around 1910 in Kosijer, Kosijer, **Karlovac Municipality**, Karlovac County. He went into exile with the other local residents. He disappeared in the area of Topusko.

7. Dragica (Miša) KRAJNIČEVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1937 in Ivošević Selo, Utinja, **Karlovac Municipality**, Karlovac County.

8. Đurđa KRAJNIČEVIĆ, (f), Serb, around 35 years old, Utinja, **Karlovac Municipality**, Karlovac County, (daughter-in-law of Dragica Kranjčević). They both were killed on August 6, 1995, near the place of Maja, on the road between Glina and Dvor, on which the column was travelling. Members of the Croatian Army, who cut off the column and opened fire, killed them.

9. Božica (Todora) MAČEŠIĆ, (f), Serb, born around 1922 in Dugi Dol, Dugi Dol 18, **Karlovac Municipality**, Karlovac County. She was in the refugee column that was heading towards Dvor. A grenade hit her somewhere near Žirovac. The location where her body was buried is unknown.
10. Danica (Milutina) MIHAJLOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1909, Kropački Grabovac 32, Karlovač Municipality, Karlovac County. During military–police operation Storm, she went into exile with the other residents. She was killed in an attack on the column on August 7, 1995 in Žirovac. The location where she was buried is unknown.

11. Kata PAVKOVIĆ, (f), Serb, born around 1908 in Zimić, Pavković Selo 3, Karlovač Municipality, Karlovac County. She went into exile with the column. She disappeared in the area of Žirovac. It is not known what happened to her.

12. Milić (Ranka) PETROVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1931 in Dunjak, Zagorje bb, Karlovač Municipality, Karlovac County. During military–police operation Storm, he went into exile together with 12 elderly people. When they had arrived in Gornji Klasnić, the column was attacked, and people dispersed. When firing stopped his co-travellers found him lying dead under a tree. The location where he was buried is unknown.

13. Stano (Milovan) ŽIVKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1927 in Kozjak, Krosjak, Karlovač Municipality, Karlovac County. He went with the column toward Dvor on August 7 or 8, 1995, when he was hit by a grenade and died.

Slunj municipality

14. Milka BUĆAN, (f), Serb, b. 1920 in Gejkovac, Gejkovac bb, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. She went into exile. She set out to exile on August 5, 1995, and disappeared during the attack on the column in front of Dvor. Since then, there has been no trace of her.

15. Miloš (Ninka) DEJANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1928 in Ruševecica, Ruševecica bb, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He went into exile on August 6, and disappeared on August 7, 1995, near Žirovac. No one knows what has become of him.

16. Đuro (Nikole) GRBA, (m), Serb, b. 1938 in Slušnjica, Slušnjica bb, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. At the entry to Dvor, he was hit by an aircraft grenade, causing his death.

17. Nikola (Jose) JANČIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1945 in Slušnjica, Slušnjica bb, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. An aircraft grenade hit him just before Dvor. He died as a result.

18. Ljuba (Mile) MIHAJLOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1915 in Veljun, Veljun 107, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. She went into exile with the column, and was last seen on August 7, on the road to Dvor.

19. Pero (Mile) MILOŠEVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1936 in Broćanač, Broćanač 38, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. On August 5, 1995, he went into exile on his tractor. Upon arriving in front of Dvor, airplanes opened fire upon the column. One grenade hit the tractor, and he died on the spot.

31 The witness saw Danica Mihajlović shot on the road between Žirovac and Dvor.
20. Dragan (Milana) MILJUŠEVIC, (m), Serb, born in Črnica, Črnica 39, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He went into exile on August 6, and disappeared somewhere in the area of Žirovac on August 8. Nothing is known about him since then.

21. Filip MLAĐAN, (m), Serb, b. 1909 in Crno Vrelo, Veljun 96, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He went into exile on August 5, and was last seen on August 8, in Donji Žirovac.

22. Milka MLAĐAN, (f), Serb, b. 1912 in Gvozdici, Veljun 96, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. She left for exile together with her husband Filip, and disappeared on August 8, in Donji Žirovac.

23. Ljuban (Sime) SIKIRICA, (m), Serb, b. 1960 in Veljun, Veljun bb, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. Near Žirovac, he was hit with a grenade fragment. He died immediately, and his body was left in the road. Where he has been buried is unknown.

24. Mile (Radojice) TEPAVAC, (m), Serb, b. 1945 in Mudrici Selo, Bročanač bb, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He went into exile on August 5, 1995. He died in front of Dvor when planes shelled the column.

25. Nenad (Radiše) TEPAVAC, (m), Serb, b. 1952 in Slušnjica, Slušnjica bb, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He was killed on the way to Dvor.

26. Miloj (Sime) TOMIČ, (m), Serb, b. 1956 in Ponorac, Ponorac bb, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He went into exile joining the column headed in the direction of Glina–Dvor, and disappeared somewhere in the vicinity of Žirovac. No one knows what has become of him.

27. Vlado (Mile) VUČKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1934 in Lapovac, Lapovac 42, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. On August 6, 1995, somewhere near Rijevac, he died due to injuries sustained from grenade fragments.

Vojnić municipality

28. Dragica BASARA, (f), Serb, over 80, Stakorovica, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. She disappeared between August 6 and 8, somewhere in the territory Glina. According to witnesses, she disappeared when the column was attacked by members of the Croatian army who approached the column. On their uniforms, they wore the Serbian Army insignia. When they approached, they removed the Serbian emblems, revealing Croatian Army patches. It is assumed she died during this attack.

29. Ljubica BASARA, (f), Serb, age about 75 years, Svinica, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. She disappeared between August 6 and 8, in the territory Žirovca. She was in the refugee column together with other residents, who had started to leave the village on August 6. Near Žirovca, grenades started to fall on the column. People dispersed, and Ljubica Basara disappeared in that chaos.

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32 Mileva Hajdin, about 70 years old, from Vojnić was also in the refugee column. However, she allegedly fell out of the tractor and was run over by cars coming from behind. It is unknown whether she was wounded before she fell from the tractor, and therefore, she is not included in this list.
30. Mihajlo (Ilije) BRDAR, (m), Serb, b. 1919 in Loskunja, Loskunja, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. He was in the column together with his son, and on August 6, they arrived at Topuško. After that, they took to the road to Gvozd–Čemernica. On Tuesday evening, Mihajlo Brdar was lying under the tractor’s trailer. On Wednesday, his son did not find him there. There has been no trace of him since.

31. Anda (Nikole) ĐURIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1923 in Radonja, Radonja 27a, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. She was killed on August 7, 1995, in the territory of Žirovac. She was in the refugee column that was headed in the direction of Glina–Dvor. Near Žirovac, the column came under the crossfire of the Croatian and Serbian Armies. She was hit, and her body remained on the road. The location of her burial is unknown.

32. Andelija GODIĆ, (f), Serb, born around 1911, Živković Kosa, Vojnić, Karlovac County. She was in the refugee column, which had taken to the road from Vojnić on August 6. She was killed in Dvor on August 7, 1995, while she was standing near a car.

33. Ana HRSTIĆ, (f), Serb, born in Komadina around 1911, Loskunja 18, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. She went into exile on August 6, 1995. When the column arrived near Glina, she was attacked, and on that occasion, she disappeared. Her family reported her disappearance to the International Red Cross and to the police, but even today her whereabouts are unknown. Ana Hrstić wore a big key on her wrist, which might assist in identifying her.

34. Dragan (Rade) IVANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, around 40, born in Bukovica, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. He left the village on August 6, 1995, with the refugee column towards Dvor. He was seen last in the territory of Žirovac, after which he disappeared. What has become of him is unknown.

35. Darko (Nikole) KRIVOKUČA, (m), Serb, b. 1965, Bukovica 25, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. He was mentally ill and undergoing treatment in the medical center in Petrinja. From August 6 to 8, the hospital was emptied, and the hospital personnel and patients also left for exile. On that journey, Darko Krivokuča disappeared.

36. Nebojša LONČAR, (m), Serb, around 74, Pod sedlo 20, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. He disappeared on August 7, 1995, in the Žirovac–Dvor locality. What has become of him is unknown.

37. Đuro (Ilije) MARTINOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1953 in Vojnić, Miholjsko 96, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. He disappeared on August 7, 1995, when he arrived in the territory of Obljaša as he was fleeing. He was in a truck that was hit by a grenade. He sustained minor injuries, and he hid in the woods. There has been no trace of him since.

38. Nikola PEVAČ, named Nino, (m), Serb, around 50 years old, Jagorovac, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. He went into exile together with other residents. He was in the part of the column which took the road from Glina to Dvor. He disappeared between August 6 and 8, 1995, somewhere in the territory of Žirovca. His fate is unknown.
39. Mišo (Stevana) RADOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1957, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. He was in the column together with his wife in a passenger car. They headed in the direction of Đvor from Glina. In the hamlet Maja, at around 6:30 p.m. on August 6, they were stopped by members of the Croatian army, who pulled Mišo out of his car and took him in an unknown direction. His wife waited for him to come back for a while. When she asked one of the soldiers where her husband was, she was told she was not to ask for him ever again. There has been no trace of Mišo Radović since.

40. Ranka (Milica) STUDEN, (f), Serb, b. 1920 in Kuplensko, Radmanovac 19, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. She was in the column, which was the target of an assault on August 6, 1995, in the territory of Glina. She traveled with her family. When the attack began, members of her family, together with others, started to run. She remained in the tractor, as she could not move. She survived the attack, and stayed a while by one elderly person in the village of Maja. Allegedly, one night she stepped out of the house where she was staying and the next morning she was found hanged.33 She was buried in the yard of that house, but later her body was relocated. The current location of her grave is not known.

41. Zagorka (Rade) VUJNOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1937 in Lapovac, Klapica, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. She was in the refugee column moving in the direction of Glina–Đvor. She disappeared in the territory of Žirova.

**SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY**

**Đvor municipality**

42. Ostoja NOŽINIĆ, called Vojin, (m), Serb, b. 1947 in Šegestin, Šegestin, Đvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was driving a tractor in the refugee column. He was wounded by a shell near the factory ŠIP in Đvor, and afterwards, he was hit in the back by 3 bullets.

43. Draguš (Drago) TOPOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1945, in Donja Crnave, Donja Crnava, Đvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was moving with the refugee column. He was killed at the river Una in Đvor.

44. Slavko (Draga) ZUBER,34 called Marušić, (m), Serb, b. 1935 in Marušić, Zrinski Draga 4, Đvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. Residents of the village set out for exile on August 5, 1995, and Slavko Zuber was last seen in the village on the morning of August 6. According to witnesses, he planned to depart on that day with intentions of joining the refugee column. He disappeared somewhere in Vrpolje.

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33 According to some witnesses, she was caught by the Croatian army and was later hanged.

34 Since this person was mobilized in the Serbian Army, it is possible he escaped in uniform, but it is assumed that S. Zuber escaped as a civilian and went missing as a civilian.
Glina municipality

45. Anka (Milana) BALJAK, (f), Serb, 78 years old, born in Mali Oblaj, Mali Oblaj 41, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She departed to exile on August 6, around 10:00 a.m. She was seen for the last time a few kilometers from Dvor.

46. Mara BAŽDAR, (f), Serb, b. 1927 in Buzeta, Buzeta bb, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County; see 48.

47. Danica BULAT, (f), Serb, around 65 years old, born in Buzeta, Buzeta bb, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County; see 48.

48. Miloš MLADIĆ, (m), Serb, around 60 years old, born in Buzeta, Buzeta bb, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. The three of them departed from Buzeta with the others on August 6, 1995. They were all in one tractor, and were killed somewhere before reaching Dvor, when a grenade hit the tractor.

49. Đuro (Miloša) JELIĆ, (m), Montenegrin, b. 1915 in Maje Bijele Vode 166, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He departed from Bijele Vode together with the column on August 6, 1995. He was killed under the tree near the little bridge in Dvor on August 7, at around 3:00 p.m. The place where he is buried is not known.

50. Pero KRNJAJIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1938 in Veliki Oblaj, Veliki Oblaj bb, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He set out to exile on August 5, around mid-day. He disappeared somewhere near Rujevac. His fate is unknown.

51. Mile (Rade) LIJILJAK, (m), Serb, age about 65 years, born in Veliki Oblaj, Veliki Oblaj bb, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He set out to exile on August 5, 1995, with Pero Krnjajić. He also disappeared in the territory of Rujevac.

52. Čiro (Ostoje) MAĐARAC, (m), Serb, b. 1946 in Hajtić, Hajtić 7, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He set out for exile together with the column on August 6, and was killed in front of Dvor at the moment when the column was cut off. Details about his death are unknown.

53. Vukosava MAĐARAC, (f), Serb, b. 1950 in Hajtić, Hajtić 7, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County, (wife of Čiro Mađarac). She was killed together with her husband in the vicinity of Dvor.

54. Vasilija VUJAKLIJA, (f), Serb, around 75 years old, born in Mali Oblaj, Mali Oblaj 9, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She set out for exile August 6, and was last seen a few kilometers from Dvor. Her fate since then is unknown.

Gvozd municipality

55. Sveto (Damjana) ALAJICA-NOVAKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1957, Kirin 57, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He was moving together with the column in
the direction of Glina–Dvor. He was killed in the territory of Žirovac. The manner and perpetrators of his murder remain unknown.

56. Miloš BATALO, (m), Serb, b. 1933 in Ponikvari, M. Pošćiča 30, Topusko, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. During the military operation Storm, he fled from Topusko with his wife. When they reached Dvor, the Croatian army took them away to a building. While he was being moved to that place, Miloš Batalo was killed. The place where he is buried is unknown.

57. Miloš (Stojana) BEKIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1972, G. Čemernica 12, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was advancing together with the refugee column in the direction of Glina–Dvor. He was seen for the last time in front of Dvor. Since then, there has been no trace of him.

58. Sino (Stojana) BOGDANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1933, in Blatušić, Gornja Čemernica, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was in the column which was moving in the direction of Glina–Dvor. He disappeared on August 7, 1995, near the village Žirovac.

59. Mile (Dure) CREVAR, (m), Serb, b. 1943 in Cevarska Strana, Cevarska Strana 20, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He set out for exile together with other residents on August 6, 1995. He was driving the First Aid vehicle. He was seen for the last time on August 6 or 7, 1995, in the territory of Žirovac.

60. Lazo GABRIĆ, (m), Serb, around 30 years old, Donja Čemernica, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was moving together with the refugee column in the direction of Glina–Dvor. He was seen for the last time near Dvor.

61. Ljubica (Stanka) JANJIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1924, Pješćenica 19, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She departed with the column on August 6, 1995, in the direction of Glina–Dvor. The last time she was seen was sometime before reaching Dvor. Her fate remains unknown.

62. Bogdana KLIJAJIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1952, Topusko, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She was moving together with the column in the direction of Glina–Dvor. She was killed near the village Žirovac. The way in which she was killed and who her perpetrators were remain unknown.

63. Stevan (Nikole) KOMADINA, (m), Serb, b. 1930, Bović 30, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. On August 6, he was in the refugee column which advanced in the direction of Glina–Dvor. In the territory near the village Maja, the column was stopped, and two Croatian army tanks started to fire on the column. A shell fragment hit him and his body remained on the roadside.

64. Ljubica KORKUT, (f), Serb, about 85 years old, Kirić 1, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She was in the column which advanced in the direction of Glina–Dvor on August 6, 1995. The last time she was seen was in the village of Maja.

65. Dimitar KROŠNJAR, (m), Serb, b. 1958, Gornja Čemernica 12, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was moving with the refugee column in the direction of Glina–Dvor. He was killed somewhere before Dvor, and buried in Glina.
66. Milenko KUKOLJ, (m), Serb, b. 1938, Blatuša 21, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County; see 69 below.

67. Dragiša (Pero) MAĐARAC, (m), Serb, b. 1954 in Blatuša, Blatuša 138, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County; see 69 below.

68. Ljubica MILIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1952, Blatuša 27, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County; see 69 below.

69. Đurđa (Pero) MILIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1971, Blatuša 27, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County, (daughter–in–law of Ljubica Milić). The four of them disappeared on August 8, 1995, on the road between Glina and Dvor. They were in the column moving through Glina to Dvor, but it is still not known what happened to them.

70. Nikola MIRILOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1929, Ostrožan 3, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He departed with the column in the direction of Glina–Dvor, and was seen for the last time in Dvor. His fate remains unknown.

71. Dragica (Marka) MRAOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1930 in Ostrožan, Črešnjačka 95, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He disappeared somewhere on the way towards Dvor.

72. (Vuje) MRAOVIĆ, called Maca, (f), Serb, b. 1927, Bović 32, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She was in the column on August 8, moving in the direction of Glina–Dvor. She was wounded when the Croatian army started to fire from tanks on the column. Her body remained on the road.

73. Miljka (Nikole) RADANOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1922 in Čermešnica, Črešnjačka 124, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County; see 74 below.

74. Ranka (Mile) RADOANOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1953 in Bukovica, Črešnjačka 127, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. They were killed on August 6, 1995 in the territory near Maja, where the refugee column had been stopped by the Croatian army. They were hit by shell fragments fired on the column from the Croatian tanks.

75. Kata (Đuro) UTVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1913 in Čermešnica, Črešnjačka 49, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She was in the refugee column, moving in the direction of Glina–Dvor, and disappeared somewhere before Dvor.

76. Stevo (Marko) VORKAPIĆ, (m), Serb, age about 22 years, Vorkapić 46, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was in the column moving in the direction of Glina–Dvor. He disappeared on August 7, 1995 in the territory of Žirovac.
CHAPTER THREE

Treatment of civilians — victims

"Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally save in the execution of a sentence of a court following his conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law." (Article 2, clause 1, Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.)

Conclusion

"Croatia has kept its dignity when in the worst position. While it was militarily weak, while Vukovar was being murdered, Ilok hunted down, Dubrovnik shelled. It has managed to cope with its tragedy on its feet. Yet it bowed under the victory. It did not manage to carry it out in the same way. To carry off the victory in dignity — this it could not carry out."1

Promises

Dr. Franjo Tudjman: "I call on all Croatian citizens of the Serbian nationality, who did not take active part in the rebellion, to remain in their houses, with no fear for life and property, and wait for the Croatian Government, with the guarantee that they will be given all citizens' rights and elections for the local government according to the Constitution and Constitutional Law with the presence of international monitors." (President of the Republic of Croatia, August 4, 1995, in his address to the rebel Serbs).

Nikica Valentić: "The Government of the Republic of Croatia guarantees to all citizens of Serbian nationality in the repatriated territories that, in the legal system, their personal and property rights will be protected in their entirety." (President of the Croatian Government in his message to Serbs, August 5, 1999).

Mr. Ivan Jarnjak: "To all people in the liberated territory, or those who will return there, the Ministry of the Interior, guarantees their personal safety as well as the safety of their property, and legal and public order and peace. All citizens of the Republic of

Tab. 3
2. List of murdered and missing civilians in the area of the former Sector North with descriptions of executions

2/I. List of murdered civilians

KARLOVAC COUNTY

Duga Resa municipality

Based on the 1991 census, Duga Resa Municipality had 30,485 inhabitants. Of these, 27,253 were Croat; 1,978 Serb; 6 Czech; 4 Hungarian; 1 Italian; and 1,243 of other nationality.

The Southeast part of the Duga Resa Municipality was within the so-called "Krajina." Most of the inhabitants fled from this area in 1995. Of the small number of those who remained in the Republic of Croatia, some ten were killed and others are still missing.

1. Jovan (Milovan) GRUBJEŠIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1948, Kestenjak 7, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during operation "Storm." On August 4, 1995 members of the Croatian Army threw a bomb into his house causing his death. He was found dead in front of his house.

2. Danica DMITROVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1930, Donji Skrad 27, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. On August 6, 1995, six members of the Croatian Army caught Danica Dmitrović and took her to the house where five people were slaughtered the previous day, including her husband. They then took her to the orchard by the house and raped her, after which they threw her into a well where she drowned.

3. Kata DMITROVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1914, Donji Skrad 26, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. On August 5, 1995, six members of the Croatian Army entered the house in Donji Skrad 46 on which occasion they slaughtered Kata Dmitrović together with four other people hiding in the house.

4 The data is listed in alphabetical order of the municipalities within Sector North. Municipality names have not been changed according to the new list of municipalities, and the names of local municipal centers are indicated as outlined in 1991 for clarity.

5 Danica Dmitrović managed to escape from the Croatian Army soldiers one day before the slaughter of the people with whom she was hiding occurred. Her husband remained in the house with the others where he was killed. The following day, Danica Dmitrović was killed, presumably by the same perpetrators who killed the five persons in the house at the address, Donji Skrad 46.

6 The body of Danica Dmitrović was found by a neighbor in December 1995. She reported this to the International Red Cross in Vojnić who then contacted the police in Karlovac. Danica Dmitrović was buried in the cemetery in Kosićer next to Đukan Mandić.

7 Stanka Konžalo, Zorica Guslarac, Kata Dmitrović, Nikola Dmitrović and Sima Konžalo were buried on August 14, 1995, in the orchard next to the house in which they were killed.
4. Nikola DMITROVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1930, Donji Skrad 5, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. Early in the morning of August 5, 1995, six members of the Croatian Army entered the house in Donji Skrad 46 on which occasion they slaughtered Nikola Dmitrovic together with four other people hiding in the house.

5. Zorka GAŽIVARA, (f), Serb, b. 1910, Donji Skrad 46, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. Early in the morning of August 5, 1995, she was slaughtered in her house together with four other people hiding there.

6. Ilija MILEKIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1933 in Donji Skrad, Donji Skrad 64, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. On August 4, 1995, before his departure into exile with other neighbors he went to his sister's house to check on her. As the Croatian Army was already in his sister's house, he went to hide in the nearby woods. The Croatian Army killed him in the cornfield near his sister's house.

7. Stanka KONČALOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1905, Donji Skrad 64, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. She remained in the village during the "Storm." On August 5, 1995, six members of the Croatian Army entered the house in Donji Skrad 46 on which occasion they slaughtered Stanka Končalović together with four other people hiding in the house.

8. Smiljana KONČALOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1942, Donji Skrad 64, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. She remained in the village during the "Storm." On August 5, 1995, six members of the Croatian Army entered the house in Donji Skrad 46 on which occasion they slaughtered Smiljana Končalović together with four other people hiding in the house.

9. Stevo (Simo) SMOLJANOVIĆ, (m), b. 1929 in Veliki Kozinac, Smoljanovici 14, Veliki Kozinac, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during the "Storm." On August 4, 1995, he left his niece's house to go home and let the sheep out of the stable. This is when he was killed. He was found dead behind his house.

Karlovac municipality

Based on the 1991 census, Karlovac Municipality had 81,319 inhabitants. Of these, 31,880 were Croat; 21,732 Serb; 17 Czech; 49 Hungarian; 17 Italian; and 7,624 of other nationalities. The majority of Karlovac Municipality was in the so-called "Krajina." Most of the inhabitants fled from this area, but of those that stayed, some were killed and others are still missing.

10. Vladimir (Mehmed) ČOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1955 in Ruma, Budačka Rijeka 69, Karlovac Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during the opera-

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8 In Donji Skrad, two months after the "Storm," some 100-300 m from the "turn" (curve of the former military road), a body of an elderly female was found. Police investigation has been conducted. Neighbors were not able to identify this person. Some statements indicate she could have been from the village of Smoljani. She was buried at the cemetery in Donji Skrad as "unknown."
tion "Storm." He was killed in the "Storm" by members of the Croatian Army. Where he was buried is still unknown.

11. Vaso BIŽIĆ, (m), Serb, about 60 years old, Lasinjski Sjeničak, Karlovac Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during the "Storm." Sometime in September 1995, he was visited by a group of armed men dressed in Croatian Army uniforms, allegedly demanding that he give them his cattle. He refused to do this, after which the people in uniforms burned down everything: his house and farm buildings, and then threw him into the fire.

12. Vladimir (Cvijan) BUNČIČ, (m), Serb, b. 1907 in Četrna, Četrna 33, Karlovac Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during the "Storm." He was found dead, his bones broken, in December 1995. The exact time of his murder is unknown. He was buried in the yard by his son.

13. Đuro (Savo) MANOJLOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born around 1932 in Gornji Sjeničak, Gornji Sjeničak bb, Karlovac Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during the "Storm." He was murdered by members of the Croatian Army who entered the village during the "Storm." He was found murdered in the bathroom of his house.

14. Cvijan (Mišo) MATIJEVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1924, Bijeli Klanac, Karlovac Municipality, Karlovac County. During the "Storm," he was hiding in the woods together with Desanka Matijević. They returned to the village immediately after the "Storm." On August 15 or 16, 1995, they were murdered in their yard, and then burned. Their bones have been found, and were buried by the State Mortuary.

15. Desanka (Đuro) MATIJEVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1925 in Krnjak, Bijeli Klanac, Karlovac Municipality, Karlovac County. During the "Storm" she was hiding in the woods together with Cvijan Matijević. They returned to the village immediately after the "Storm." On 15 or 1 August 6, 1995 they were murdered in their yard, and then burned. Their bones have been found, and the authorized authorities buried their remains.

16. NN (Unknown), — child, about 10 years old, Bijeli Klanac, Karlovac, Karlovac County. The body was found near the house of Desanka and Cvijan Matijević (who were murdered and burned in this house). It is assumed that the child was killed, but it is impossible to determine how since the body was completely decomposed when found, and showed traces of being partly eaten by dogs or other animals.9

17. Branko PALEŠ, (called Gajo), (m), Serb, Gornji Sjeničak, Karlovac Municipality, Karlovac County. He left for exile with his wife, but decided to return. On his way from the direction of Slavsko Polje, he was met by his neighbor who was leaving for exile. By the end of October 1996, his body was found, i.e. his skull and some clothing. It is assumed he was killed by members of the Croatian Army who were liberating that area.

9 In the vicinity of the house of Desanka and Cvijan Matijević, two other burned bodies were found. However, their identity has not been established.
Plaški municipality

During the war, Plaški was within Ogulin Municipality, but the local community of Plaški had 8,000 inhabitants, mostly of Serbian nationality. During the military–police operation storm, some 219 remained. Today there are 2,768 inhabitants in the Plaški area, of whom 950 are settlers from B&H.

(Source: SDF Plaški data and Prof. Milan Damjanović from Plaški, also representative of the SDF Plaški affiliate).

The following people were killed in Plaški Municipality:

20. Miša (Branko) Grba, (f), Serb, around 37 years old, Lička Jesenica 169, Plaški Municipality, Karlovac County. She was mentally ill. She remained in the village during the military operation "Storm." Several days after the Croatian Army entered the village she was found murdered in her house.

21. Đuro (Mano) Jovetić, (m), Serb, around 70 years old, Begovac, Lička Jesenica, Plaški Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during the military operation "Storm." He was hit by grenade shrapnel on August 4, 1995, when the Croatian Army was shelling the village.

22. Mlka (Dušan) Vrčelj, (f), Serb, b. 1934 in Lička Jesenica, Lička Jesenica, Plaški Municipality, Karlovac County. She remained in the village during the military operation "Storm." There are two versions of her murder. According to one version, that a witness heard from the Croatian Police, she was found murdered behind the house near the summer kitchen.10 According to the other version, which the witness heard from the neighbors, Milka Vrčelj was murdered and found in the well. It is assumed the murder was conducted by members of the Croatian Army who were in the village during the "Storm."

23. Bude Vezmar, (m), Serb, born around 1910 in Begovac, Begovac village, Plaški Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during the Military and Police Operation "Storm." He was killed by members of the Croatian Army who entered the village during the "Storm." The witness states that the bed he was lying on was riddled with bullets.

10 This version is unlikely to be true as the witness visited the farm of Milka Vrčelj several days before he spoke to this Croatian police officer, and did not see her anywhere on this occasion. He knew she was unable to move so he assumed she had been taken somewhere.
Slunj municipality

Based on the 1991 census, the Slunj Municipality had 18,962 inhabitants. Of these, 12,091 were Croat; 5,540 Serb; 509 Bosnian–Muslim; 9 Montenegrin; 5 Slovene; 4 Macedonian; 4 Hungarian; 3 Albanian; 2 Czech; 2 Greek; 2 Russian; and 1 Bulgarian.

Before military–police operation Storm, most of the inhabitants fled this area. Only a few stayed in their villages. During the operation “Storm,” some of the inhabitants that stayed behind were murdered and others are still missing.

The following persons were killed in Slunj Municipality:

24. Anka (Milka) DRAGOJEVIČ, (f), Serb, b. 1910 in Lapovac, Lapovac 24, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. She remained in the village during the military operation “Storm.” She was found dead near the hay barn in her yard.

25. Vaso (Dragoje) OBRADOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1927 in Crno Vrelo, Crno Vrelo 9, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during the military operation “Storm.” He was found dead near Veljunska Gлина. It is assumed he was killed on August 5, 1995, by members of the Croatian Army.

26. Dane (Uroš) PAŠIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1921 in Pašić Selo, Broćanac 44, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during the military operation “Storm.” Members of the Croatian Army repeatedly mistreated him, both physically and mentally, resulting in his suicide in August 1995.

27. Pero RIBIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1929 in Batnoga, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He was killed on August 6, 1995 by members of the Army of the so-called Srpska Krajina during their withdrawal from the village.

28. Mile SIKIRICA, (m), Serb, 57 years old, Vodević Brdo, Sikirica Valley, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He had stayed in Veljun and was still there when the Croatian Army arrived in the village during military–police operation Storm. When the soldiers arrived, he started running and then he was killed.

29. Milorad (Miloš) SIKIRICA, (m), Serb, b. 1939, in Ponorac, Ponorac 10, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He did not want to join the column that was leaving the village, but decided to stay in the village. Members of the Croatian army killed him on August 19, 1995.

30. Mara VUJIĆ, (f), unknown ethnicity, 55 years old, Veljun, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County.

31. Gordana (Marc) VUJIĆ, (f), ethnicity unknown, 35 years old, Veljun, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. Mara and Gordana Vujčić, mother and daughter, remained in Veljun during military–police operation Storm. Both were massacred during the operation. Gordana Vujčić also had a small child who fell into a coma, but the child survived.
Vojnić municipality

According to the 1991 census, 8,236 inhabitants lived in the region of the Vojnić Municipality. 7,366 of these residents were of Serb ethnicity, 116 of Croat ethnicity, 2 persons of Hungarian ethnicity, and 752 of other nationalities.

The territory of Vojnić was situated in the so-called “Krajina.” The majority of the residents left the region. A great number of those who remained in the region were killed, and a smaller number was recorded missing.

32. Milka BASARA, (f), Serb, 70 years old, Gornja Brusovača, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. Basara remained in the village during military-police operation Storm. Members of the Croatian army killed her during military-police operation Storm in a cornfield near the village. Her body was not found afterwards and it is believed that pigs ate it.

33. Mile (Dure) BOŽIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1924, Miholjskom, Krstinja bb, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. His body was found on the road, approximately 300 meters away from his damaged van. Presumably, members of the Croatian army who were on their way to village killed him.

34. Ljuba BOŽIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1926, in Priseka, Krstinja bb, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County, wife of Mile Božić. She was on her way home, when a passing car hit her on purpose and killed her. The car belonged to the military police of the Republic of Croatia.

35. Dušan BUNČIĆ, (m), Serb, around 70 years old, Daperovac, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac Municipality. He remained in the village during military-police operation Storm. Members of the Croatian army killed him by shooting three bullets in his back, while he was on his way home.

36. Stanka GRUDIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1924, Rajić brdo, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. She was killed on October 14, 1995, when she activated a hand bomb placed by an unknown perpetrator.11

37. Husein (Ante) KOVAČEVIĆ, (m), Muslim, b. 1945, Široka Rijeka 41, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. He was killed by weapon fire on October 14, 1995 in front of his house in Široka Rijeka by a member of the Croatian army. The soldier had a black scarf around his head and a black shirt with the insignia of the First Military Brigade of the Croatian army. He was buried behind the house.

38. Miloš MRKIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1911 Knežević Kosa, Knežević Kosa bb, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. His corpse was found in 1996 in a meadow near the village. Presumably, a member of the Croatian army, who was staying in the village at that time, killed him.

39. Jeka MRKOBRAD, (f), Serb, b. 1932 in Gačka selo, Vrela Utinja 10, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. Members of the Croatian army situated in the village at

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11 An on the spot investigation was carried out by the investigative judge of the County Court in Sisak, together with the police officers. The Office of County Attorney in Sisak pressed criminal charges against an unidentified perpetrator.
that time killed her in August 1995. She was found dead in the house of her neighbour in Vrelo Utina. She was buried very close to the house in which she was found.

40. NN (Unknown), (f), between 65 and 70 years old, Živković Kosa, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. At the crossroads on the way to her isolated house, near the restaurant, “Dule,” a decomposed woman’s corpse was found by the activists of the Karlovac Committee for Human Rights. Later on, they contacted the CHC regional centre in Karlovac. On March 14, 1996, both human rights organisations carried out field investigations and took photographs of the corpse. They then reported the entire case to the police.

Presumably, the woman is either Danica Maderčić from Živković Kosa 48 or 49, who disappeared during military-police operation Storm, or another unidentified female from the neighbouring village who hid during military-police operation Storm in the village of Živković Kosa.12

41. Stevan (Vase) NOVAKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1931 in Vojšćina, Knežević Kosa, Vojnić Municipality, Karlovac County. He remained in the village during military-police operation Storm and was killed by members of the Croatian army who passed through the village. The exact manner in which he was killed is not known. When he was found, he had a bullet in his head, and a rope around his neck.

SISAK-Moslavina County

Dvor municipality

According to the census from 1991, 14,044 residents lived in Dvor Municipality. 12,591 were Serbs, 1,395 were Croats, 31 Muslim, 8 Montenegrins, 6 Macedonians, 3 Greeks, 3 Hungarians, 3 Slovenians, 2 Czechs, 1 Polish, 311 Yugoslavs, and 91 persons who were not ethnically defined.

At the beginning of military-police operation Storm, the majority of the population left the region and a few residents went to live in the surrounding villages. Most of them were killed or disappeared during and after military-police operation Storm. Some were killed by members of the Fifth Corps of the B&H Army, while others were killed by members of the Croatian army. Two persons were killed by members of the Serb army.

In Dvor Municipality, the following persons were killed:

42. Milor ARIBUTINA, (m), Serb, professor in Dvor, Dvor Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He remained in Dvor after military-police operation Storm. Two months later, while he was riding his bicycle, he was run over by members of the Croatian army.

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12 The CHC published Statement No. 36, which included the following quote: "... From the degree of rot, it is obvious that the person died or was killed a few months ago. The body was lying on the left side in a cramped manner. The skull was laying about 120m away from the body along the river. One half meter away, there was part of a band; some 10m further away were shoes, probably belonging to the dead person. The body did not have legs from the knees downwards. Under the body, there was a kitchen knife on which there were traces of blood."
43. Dragica BENAK, (F), Serb, b. 1931 in Paukovac, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She and a few other residents remained in the village during military–police operation Storm. In September or October 1995, she was found dead in bed in her house.

44. Pero (Milovan) BERIČ, (m), Serb, b. 1946, in Gvозданко, Gvозданско, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He remained in the village during military–police operation Storm. He was killed in front of his house on August 8, or 9, 1995 by members of the Croatian army who were in the village that day.13

45. Ilija (Mile) BOŽIĆ, (m), Serb, 75 years old, Otočići, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. His throat was cut by the members of the Fifth Corps of the B&H Army who were the first to enter the village during the military–police operation.

46. Stevo (Petar) BRAJNOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1924 in Čorići, Šabanlje, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He remained in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed on August 12, 1995. Presumably, he was killed by Croatian soldiers.

47. Danica ĆANAK, (f), Serb, born near 1920, in Čore, Čore, Dvor Municipality. She remained in the village during military–police operation Storm. After August 6, the soldiers entered the house and tried to take her cattle away. When she refused to let them steal her cattle, she was killed.14

48. Stoja (Stojana) ČORIĆ, (f), Serb, 70 years old, Šabanlje, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. On August 12, 1995, she was killed and thrown in a fire. Presumably the perpetrators were members of the Croatian army.

49. Ljuban (Stojana) DURMAN, (m), Serb, b. 1924, Paukovac 8, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was burned in his house during military–police operation Storm. Ljuban Durman had remained in the village with a few other residents. He was a disabled person and moved with the help of crutches. The Croatian military units were situated in the village between August 9 and September 6, 1995. Almost the entire village was burned in that period, including the house of Ljube Durman. In the remnants of his house, his bones were found on October 16, 1998 by CHC activists. The CHC contacted the Institute for Judicial Medicine and the Faculty of Medicine in Zagreb and asked them to perform an expert evaluation. The Institute was not interested in this affair and the bones were transferred for analysis to the Institute for Anatomy, Histology and Embriology of the Veterinary Institute of the University in Zagreb.15

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13 The witness stated that one group of Croatian soldiers came to the village on August 7, 1995, and they did not touch anybody. The second group arrived at the village on August 8 or 9, 1995. The members of that group killed Pero Berić.

14 Witness could not tell with certainty which army it was.

15 CHC obtained the detailed opinion of experts at the Institute for Anatomy, Histology and Embriology of the Veterinary College, University of Zagreb. After the expert analysis of the 41 bone fragments found in the burned house of Ljuban Durman, it could be stated with a high degree of certainty that they were human bones.
50. Milan DURMAN, (m), Serb, b. 1908, Paukovac, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. Presumably he was burned in his house between August 9 and September 6, 1995, when Croatian army members were located in the village. Milan Durman often visited the house of Ljuban Durman and there is a possibility that he was burned at the house of Ljuban Durman, together with him.

51. Slavko (Stanka) DURASINOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1937 in Čavlovića, Čavlovića bb, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He remained in the village during military–police operation Storm and was slaughtered by the members of the Fifth Corps of the B&H Army on August 5, when they entered the village.

52. Ljuba DURASINOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 70 years old, born in Dvor, Čavlovića, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She remained to live in the village during military–police operation Storm. She was slaughtered by members of the Fifth Corps of the B&H Army, when they entered the village on August 5, 1995.

53. Zorka INGULA, (f), Serb, born in Lotina 1948, in Pitomača, Matijevići 10, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She suffered from epilepsy and remained in her village during military–police operation Storm. She was burned in her house during the period in which the Croatian army was located in the village. Exact information regarding when and how the incident occurred was not obtained during interviews with the witnesses. Witnesses who know more about this incident are still living abroad.

54.–55. Danica IVELIĆ, (f), Croat, around 65 years old, Sakcinskg 1, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County and her husband Nedjelko IVELIĆ, (m), Croat, 60 years old, Sakcinskg 1, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County, were killed by members of the Serb paramilitary units while they were withdrawing from Dvor. Nedjeljko’s head was crushed, and Danica was raped and later killed. She was found in her house.

56. Adam (Duro) KEPČIJA, (m), Serb, b. 1926, in Kepčije, Kepčije 22, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. On August 7, when the Croatian army entered the village, he became frightened and started to run. He was killed at that time.

57. Slavka KNEŽEVIĆ, (f), Serb, around 70 years old, hamlet of Krišnica, Šakanlije, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed on August 12, 1995 in her own backyard. Presumably, perpetrators were members of the Croatian army.

58. Stevo (Milan) KOPAČ, (m), Serb, 65 years, Blatuša, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. He was killed a few days later while he was on his way to Glina (the village of Viduševac) by bicycle on August 8 or 9, 1995. No one knows where he was buried.

59. Dragan (Miloša) LACKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1947, Crevarska strana 102, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. Members of the Croatian army took him to the collective centre, a detention centre for refugees, in Karlovac. After he was released from the centre,
on his way to his village, he was killed in the village of Biljeg. His grave was not found.

60. Nikola (Mile) MILIĆEVIĆ, (m), Serb, 40 years old, Brnjavac, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. He was killed in his own backyard, and the witnesses presume that his body was dismembered by animals.

61. Milan (Stivo) MILJKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1919 in Milekovići, Šakanjije, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was a very ill and disabled man. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. Presumably, he was killed in his house on August 12, 1995 by members of the Croatian army who were seen in the village at that time.

62. Branko OSTOJić, called Radić, (m), Serb, 60 years old, Ostojići, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County.

63. Milan OSTOJić, called Bojić, (m), Serb, 60 years old, Ostojići, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. Both stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. They were killed by members of the Fifth Corps of the B&H Army, who first entered the village on August 7, 1995.

64. Vaso (Branka) PAIĆ, (m), Serb, born around 1960, Pječanica 62, Dvor, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was buried on August 6, 1995 in his house. Dušan Stanić, who passed away in the spring of 1999, found him.

65. Milan PAVELOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 65 years old, Gornji Žirovac, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. He was slain by members of the Fifth Corps of the B&H Army who were in the village at that time.

66. Jovo PRERADOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 65 years old, Rujevac bb, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was killed by members of the Croatian army in the village of Pedalj, Dvor Municipality, where he was residing during military–police operation Storm.

67. Simo (Stevan) RADANOVIC, (m), Serb, born around 1933, in Cremušnica, Cremušnica, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was killed during military–police operation Storm. His neighbour, Miloš, found him.

68. Branko (Miša) ROKSANĐIĆ, (m), Serb, 38 years old, Brđani 17, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in his house during military–police operation Storm. He suffered from epilepsy and could not leave with the refugee column. The Croatian army found him in his house on August 11 and killed him.

69. Boja (Ininka) SIRETA, (f), Serb, 80 years old, G. Dobretin, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She stayed in the village of Dobretin during military–police operation Storm. The Muslim army first entered the village and took all the cattle. Then the Croatian army entered the village. Witnesses do not know exactly how she was killed. They only know that later on they saw her bones being torn apart by pigs. Presumably, she was killed by members of the Croatian army.
70. Stojan (Živka) ŠERBULA, (m), Serb, b. 1914 in Kosna, Kosna 32, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County.

71. Kata (Jovana) ŠERBULA, (f), Serb, b. 1920 in Donje Javorje, Kosna 32, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. The husband and wife stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and were killed at that time. They were reported missing until 1996, when their son found his father’s bones and clothes. The family is convinced that these two people were killed by the Croatian army during military–police operation Storm.

72. Jovo (Dmitar) ŠERBULA, (m), Serb, b. 1929, in Ljeskovac, Ljeskovac, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. The Croatian army arrested him together with Nikola Vukušić and placed them in the kiln for drying meat. A month after military–police operation Storm, they were found dead.

73. Miloš (Dragan) TRIVANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 42 years old, Zut, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He remained in the village and was killed during military–police operation Storm. The whereabouts of his grave are not known.

74. Rade (Ilija) TRIVANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1944, Zut, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. During military–police operation Storm, he stayed in the village and was killed there. According to the statements of witnesses, Miloš and Rade Trivanović were civilians. Their grave has not been found.16

75. Branko VASILIJEVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1931 in Pedali, Pedali, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. During a search of the village, a few members of the Croatian army found weapons and ammunition in the neighbouring house. They beat him, damaging his kidneys. He died in the Sisak hospital from the consequences of the beatings.

76. Milan (Miša) VUJAKLIJA, (m), Serb, 70 years old, Gornji Životovac, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. He was slain by members of the Fifth Corps of the BA&H Army.

77. Ljuban VUKIČEVIĆ, (m), Serb, 60 years old, Čavlovića, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was slain by members of the Fifth Corps of the BA&H Army on August 5, 1995, when they entered the village. But the bones that were found two years ago, belonged to an unidentified person.

78. Jovo ŠUŠNAR, (m), Serb, 80 years old, Ljeskovac, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County.

79. Nikola (Stevan) VUKIČ, (m), Serb, b. 1928, in Ljeskovac, Ljeskovac, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. They stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. Members of the Croatian army, according to witnesses’ state-

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16 Witness A. O. on April 29, 1999. According to the witness’s testimony, in between the villages of Rozulje and Javorje in Dvor Municipality, where garbage and old cars are currently dumped, there is a mass grave in which victims of military–police operation Storm are buried.
mements, closed them both in the kiln near the house, where they were found dead in the middle of May 1996.

80. Evica ZORIĆ, (f), Serb, 80 years old, Donji Žirovac, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. She was killed two months after the "Storm," and her body was found in Donji Žirovac where she had been living. The perpetrators are unknown.

81. Dragan (Ostoja) ŽIVKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1926, Zut, Dvor Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was killed during the "Storm." The whereabouts of his grave are unknown.

**Glina municipality**

According to the 1991 census, in the region of Glina Municipality lived 23,040 residents of Serb ethnicity, 8,041 persons of Croat ethnicity, four persons of Czech nationality, two Hungarians, two Italians, and 1,016 residents of various ethnicities.

The whole region of Glina was under Krajina control. At the beginning of military–police operation Storm in 1995, a great number of the Serb population fled. Many of those who stayed were killed and some are still missing.

82. Rade (Milan) BANJANAC, (m), Serb, b. 1914 in Kozaperovica, Kozaperovica, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. In the autumn of 1995, unidentified persons broke into his house and beat him. He died a few days later from the consequences of the beating.

83. Janja (Đimir) DUKIĆ, (f), Serb, 65 years old, born in Veliki Obljaj, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She did not abandon the village during military–police operation Storm, and was killed 15 days after the operation. She was buried 15 days later in the local cemetery.

84. Simo JOVANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, F. Žužeka 14, Glina Municipality, Karlovac County. He was killed during military–police operation Storm by unknown perpetrators.

85. Danica (Miljkan) KOVARBAŠIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1927 in Banški Drenovac, Banški Drenovac 109, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She remained in the village during the military operation and was killed on August 9 or 10, by unknown perpetrators—members of the Croatian army who stayed in the village at that time. Her body was found under the table in her house. One month later, the corpse disappeared and nobody knows what happened to it. Presumably, it was torn apart by pigs.

86. Stana (Đuro) LAZIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1908 in G. Selište, Hajšć 11, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She stayed in her village during military–police operation Storm. The Croatian army entered the village on August 6, 1995, and took the residents of the village to collective centres. Stana Lazić's neighbour saw a Croatian soldier entering her house. When the residents returned home on August 10, 1995, they found Stana Lazić killed in her house on the bed in the kitchen.

87. Vuko LONČAR, (m), Serb, 80 years old, Veliki Obljaj, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He did not abandon the village during military–police operation.
Storm. His house was burned down a few days after military–police operation Storm and presumably, he was burned in the house.

88. Slavko (Nikola) MIŠČEVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1996 in Buzeta, Buzeta, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. During military–police operation Storm he did not abandon the village. He was killed 14 days after military–police operation Storm when members of the Croatian army were staying there. His body was not found and buried, but was torn apart by pigs.

89. Nikola (Stevan) NOVAKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1928 in Vlahović, Vlahović 17, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in his village. When the Croatian army entered the village on August 7, 1995, he tried to hide in the hills. The residents saw when the Croatian army shot him. They left his body on the railway tracks and it remained there until the night. Since the case could not be presented as an accident they took the body, put it in a black sack and carried it away in an unknown direction. Nobody knows where he was buried.

90. NN (Unknown), (f), 55 years old, born in Borovita, married in Vrhovina, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. Found in Mali Oblaj, hanged from an oak tree around August 15, 1995. 18

91. Petar PETKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1912, Kralja Tomislava, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was killed on August 8, 1995. Presumably, the perpetrators were members of the Croatian army.

92. Miloš (Đuro) RAČAS, (m), Serb, 65 years old, Veliki Oblaj, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He was the only one left in the village during military–police operation Storm. He was killed between August 6 and 7, 1995. His body was found one month later, dismembered. The torso was found in the house, and the head was found 2 meters away from the house, in the field.

93. Branko (Pavle) RELIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1912 in Glina, Zagrebačka 10, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed on August 8, 1995. Presumably, the perpetrators were members of the Croatian army.

94. Evica RUDIĆ, (f), Serb, 80 years old, Gornji Klasnić 5, Glina, Sisak–Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed on August 6 or 7, 1995 by unknown perpetrators — members of the Croatian army who entered the village of Gornji Klasnić that day.

95. Jelena (Janko) SLJEPEČEVić, (f), Serb, b. 1935 in Dabrina, Donji Klasnić 168, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County.

96. Desanka (Lazo) SLJEPEČEVić, (f), Serb, b. 1912 in Dragotina, Donji Klasnić 68, Glina, Sisak–Moslavina County. They both remained in the village during military–police operation Storm. They were ill and disabled. They disappeared at the begin-

17 Members of the “Thunder” (Gromovi) military unit first entered the village on August 6, 1995. But, according to witnesses’ statements, they did not kill Slavko Miščević. He was killed by members of the Croatian Army who came to the village 14 days after the operation Storm.

18 Witness A. P. could not remember the name of the killed person. He was found hanged on a walnut-tree, from which he was later brought down.
ning of September 1995 and not long after they were both found dead. Their bodies were taken away by the military police dressed in yellow uniforms. No one knows the whereabouts of their graves.

97. Ljuba SUSTOLIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1930 in Vlahović, Vlahović 46, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She remained in the village during military–police operation Storm. She was found dead 10 days after the operation. All her clothes were found in one pile, 15 meters away from the body. Her naked body was found below a tree on which a rope hung. Presumably, she was hanged. The murder is connected to the entrance of the Croatian army into the village on August 7, 1995.

98. Milka (Jovo) TROSKOT, (f), Serb, 25 years old, born Ljubići, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. On September 21, 1995, at around 10:00 p.m., unknown persons shot at the house of Marinko Troškota, Milka’s husband. Milka Troškot was killed at that time. She left a two-year-old child behind. Milka Troškot was buried on September 23, 1995, in Glina.

99. Kata (Milan) VUČKOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1908, in Trnovac, Trnovac Glints, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. She was killed and thrown into the well sometime in the period of August 5–7, 1995. Her body was found 6 months later. Presumably, she was killed by members of the Croatian army.

100. Petar (Duro) VUKIĆEVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1931 in Dragotina, Dragotina 172, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed in August 1995. His death is connected to the entrance of the Croatian army into the village. His body was found in the yard in front of his house.

**Gvozd municipality**

According to the 1991 census, there were 16,599 residents living in Gvozd Municipality: 11,729 of Serb ethnicity, 4,043 of Croat ethnicity, 123 of Muslim ethnicity, 9 Slovenians, 7 Montenegrins, 6 Albanians, 4 Hungarians, 2 Macedonians, 2 Czechs, 1 Bulgarian, and 1 Greek, and the rest were members of different ethnic communities.

During military–police operation Storm, the majority of the population joined the mass refugee column on August 5, 1995. Only a few persons remained in the villages. Most of them were killed during military–police operation Storm or disappeared afterwards.

The following persons were killed:

101. Vaso (Duro) BIZIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1918 in Sjeničak Lasinjski, Sjeničak Lasinjski bb, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He remained in the village. In September 1995, a few unidentified persons dressed in Croatian army uniforms killed him in front of his house. Later on, they threw him in the hay barn where he was burned.

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102. Jovo (Stivo) BIJEŁIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1935, Gredani, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in his village after military-police operation Storm and was killed in front of his house. Jovo Bijelić was buried in the cemetery in the village of Gredani.

103. Nikola (Mile) BUNJČEVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1949, Crevarska strana, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm and was killed on his way home from the village. Presumably, he was killed by members of the Croatian army who were in the village that same day.

104. Stojan (Dragan) MALOBRAĐIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1950, Katinovac, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He was killed in the village by members of the Croatian army and thrown into the well three houses away from his home. The well was mined and destroyed.

105. Ilija MRKONJić, (m), Serb, 50 years old, Slavsko Polje bb, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He was killed at the end of 1996 and his body was found at the dump site near the local school in Slavsko polje. Presumably, he was killed by members of the Croatian army.

106. Pero (Pero) OREŠČANIN, called Peco, (m), Serb, 50 years old, born in Pecka, Dvor Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm and was killed in front of Bodo Glišić's house in Suha Perina. He was thrown into the water and his body was torn apart by ravens and pigs.

107. Ljuban (Milan) POŠTIć, (m), Serb, b. 1936, Gredani, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He remained in the village during military-police operation Storm. The Croatian army took him to Katinovac on August 9 or 10, where he was killed in the schoolyard. The corpse was taken to an unknown location and the whereabouts of his grave are unknown.


109. Teodor SAMARDŽIJA, (m), Serb, 70 years old, Samardžija, Slavsko Polje, Sisak-Moslavina County. Both of them were thrown into the fire on August 7, 1995 and burned to death. Presumably, members of the Croatian army perpetrated these killings.

110. Sava (Janko) STANOJEVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1930, Bović, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village after military-police operation Storm. He was last seen on August 25, 1995. According to witnesses' statements, he was killed by Bosnian newcomers who arrived in the village on August 23, 1995. He refused to let them into his house.

111. Stana ŠIMULIJA, (f), Serb, 75 years old, Slavsko Polje bb, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She was found hanged in front of her house during military-police operation Storm. The Croatian army was in the village at that time, and presumably, members of these military units killed her.

112. Mirko (Slavko) VIJUG, (m), Serb, b. 1931, Topusko, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. His body was found under a vine in his backyard. He was buried in the Topusko cemetery.
113. Mihajlo VOJNOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1911, Črni Potok, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed on August 10, 1995. The perpetrators of the crime were members of the Croatian army who were staying in the village that day.

114. Milan (Mile) ZDJELAR, (m), Serb, b. 1921, Črni Potok, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. He was killed on August 8, 1995 by members of the Croatian army, specifically the Tigers unit. He was shot in the head and leg. His body was buried in the meadow where he was shot.

115. Milan ŽUNA, (m), Serb, b. 1954, Katinjac, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed on August 9, 1995. His body remained in the yard for over one month. The pigs ate half of his torso. The corpse later disappeared.

Petrinja municipality

According to 1991 census, 35,565 residents lived in the region of the Petrinja Municipality: 15,969 of Serb ethnicity, 15,790 of Croat ethnicity, 23 of Czech nationality, 17 of Hungarian nationality, 13 of Italian nationality and the rest, 3,753 persons, of various ethnicities.

A great part of the Petrinja Municipality belonged to the territory of the so-called "Krajina." A great number of persons fled this region, and most of those who stayed were killed or proclaimed missing.

116. Božo (Stevan) BAJLOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1933, Lušćani, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in his village during military–police operation Storm, where he was killed when the Croatian army entered the village. His body was found on the bed in his house.

117. Katarina BAJLOVIĆ, (f), Serb, 90 years old, Lušćani, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She was elderly and sick and remained in her house during military–police operation Storm. She was killed in her house: her head was cut off, and the body which was seen lying at the doorstep was torn apart by pigs.

118. Dragan (Niška) DJIĆ, (m), Serb, born around 1930, Lušćani, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in his village during military–police operation Storm. He was thrown alive into the well during the afternoon of August 6, 1995, and he drowned there.

119. Draginja DJIĆ, (f), Serb, 75 years old, Lušćani, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She remained in her village with her daughter, Lužica. They were shot on their way to find the other inhabitants of the village.

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20 During military–police operation Storm, members of the Croatian Army in the village of Lušćani, Petrinja Municipality, in one day, killed 10 persons who decided to remain in Croatia. Two more persons who remained in the village were considered missing and information about their disappearance is presented in the second part of this chapter, in the section on "missing persons."
120. Ljubica (Draginja) Dajić, (f), Serb, born around 1950, Luščani, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She stayed in the village with her mother, Draginja. On their way to find the other inhabitants of the village, firearms were used to shoot them.

121. Ruža Drobnjak, (f), Serb, 65 years old, Gornja Minoga, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She stayed in her house during military–police operation Storm. A few days later, a female friend found her dead and buried her in the local village.

122. Branko Lazić, (m), Serb, 65 years old, Luščani, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed on a local road with two other residents from the village.

123. Jovo Lazić, (m), Serb, 65 years old, Luščani, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was found killed in his house, leaning against a table.

124. Mićo (Mihajla) Lazić, (m), Serb, b. 1936, Luščani, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed on the road together with two other residents.

125. Mirko Lončar, (m), Serb, 65 years old, Luščani, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in his village together with Branko and Mićo Lazić and he was killed on a road in Drakulić.

126. Stana (Milo) Miljević, (f), Serb, 78 years old, Jabukovac, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She remained in the village during military–police operation Storm. When the Croatian army entered the village, she was shot and seriously wounded. The following day, she died from the inflicted wounds.

127. Rade Opavić, (m), Serb, 70 years old, Luščani, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during the "Storm," and was killed in front of his house on August 6, 1995.

128. Ranko (Branko) Svilokos, (m), Serb, b. 1947 in G. Pastuša, Gornja Pastuša 35, Petrinja Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed in the orchard near the store on August 6, 1995, when the Croatian army brigade named Gromovi (Thunder) entered the village. The location of his grave is unknown.

Hrvatska Kostajnica municipality

According to the 1991 census, the territory of the Hrvatska Kostajnica was inhabited by 14,851 residents: 9,343 of Serb ethnicity, 4,295 of Croat ethnicity, two persons of Hungarian nationality, one of Italian nationality and 1,210 of various other nationalities.

At the beginning of military–police operation "Storm" in 1995, a great number of residents fled the region, and those who stayed were mostly killed or missing.

129. Neno (Pero) Adžić, (m), Serb, 20 years old, Gornji Hrastovac, Hrvatska Kostajnica Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. On his way out of the region, Croa-
tian army members killed him with a grenade during the bombardment of the entire region of Hrvatska Kostajnica and its surrounding areas.

130. Miloš BOROJEVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1947, Borojevići 4, Hrvatska Kostajnica Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. While on his way through the village, he was killed by a grenade fired from a tank.

131. Radejka (Janko) ĆEZMIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1925, Lovča, Hrvatska Kostajnica Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military operation Storm. While on her way through the village to round up her cattle, members of the Croatian army shot her in the chest and killed her.

132. Mara GOJSAVIĆ, (f), Serb, 60 years old, Komogovina 47, Hrvatska Kostajnica Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She went into exile on a truck. There were 15 other persons on the truck, which was later stopped by the Croatian army in Hrvatska Kostajnica. When the truck stopped, the soldiers started shooting at the people in the truck. Several persons were wounded and Mara Gojsavić was killed.

133. Miloš KORASIĆ, (m), Serb, 80 years old, Prevršac, Hrvatska Kostajnica Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County.

134. Janja MATIJAŠEVIĆ, (f), Serb, 75 years old, Donje Velešnje, Hrvatska Kostajnica Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County.

135. (? (Stojana) KORASIĆ, (m), Serb, 10 years old, Prevršac, Hrvatska Kostajnica, Sisak–Moslavina County. The three of them were hiding in the house of Miloš Korasje and were found and killed by members of the Croatian army who first entered the village on August 5, 1995.

136. Bogdan SAMARDIJA, (m), Serb, 70 years old, Gornji Hrastovac, Hrvatska Kostajnica Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed by members of the Croatian army.

Sunja municipality

137. Stevo BOŽIĆ, (m), Serb, 75 years old, Donji Hrastovac, Sunja Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and was killed on his own doorstep by members of the Croatian army.

138. Marica (Boro) DRAGOJLOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. 1908 in Čapljan, Donji Hrastovac, Sunja Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She was a disabled person and stayed in her house during military–police operation Storm. She was killed two or three days after the Storm. The perpetrators are not unknown, but presumably, she was killed by members of the Croatian army who were in the village at the time.

139. Julka (Milan) KOSTANJŠEK, (f), of unknown ethnicity, born in Koljanin in 1914 in Petrinjci, Drljače 29, Sunja Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She was the only person remaining in the entire village. She was killed but nobody knows where was she buried.
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140. Ljuban STOJAKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 85 years old, Donji Hrastovac, Sunja Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County.

141. Dragan STOJAKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 80 years old, Donji Hrastovac, Sunja Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. They stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. They were killed a few days later by Croatian soldiers. Later on, their bodies were burned in the hay barn next to their house.

2/II. A list of missing civilians, according to witnesses’ statements, these civilians were presumably killed

The problem of missing person is still very serious. The Republic of Croatia is persistently using all available means of searching for missing persons of Croat ethnicity, while on the other hand entirely ignoring a search for missing Serb residents. The authorised institutions and human rights organisations believe that the search for the missing persons on the Serb side is being completely ignored and minimised.

Manfred Novak, who on behalf of the UN, investigated the issue of missing persons in operations Flash and Storm, openly stated that he had given a list of 2,973 missing persons of Serb ethnicity to the government of the Republic of Croatia during 1995 and 1996.

Croatia supplied information for only 11 persons from the list of “905 searched for persons,” according to a statement on July 8, 1996, by Pavle Todorović, President of the Commission of the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for Humanitarian Issues and Missing Persons.

The CHC activists have, through their investigations and fieldwork, established that at least 100 civilians (this number is not final) disappeared from the territory of the former Sector South. We should keep in mind that the CHC received data that during 1991 and 1992, several hundreds of people, including Serb civilians, also disappeared from the region of the former Sector North, however this report does not deal with this issue. Because there have not been any recent developments regarding these cases, we believe that only a few may still be alive. The family members of the missing persons believe that their relatives and dear ones are still alive and hope that they will return one day or that at least their remains will be found so that they can be buried with dignity.

21 “For the relatives of the missing and disappeared, dignity means a grave where they can mourn. For the families of victims buried in garden graves, it means a properly marked grave where descendants will also be able to commemorate the dead. For relatives of those whose remains are buried in sardine-like rows of wooden crosses in town cemeteries, it is burial in the family plot with a proper headstone.” (Amnesty International, “Croatia: Three Years since operations Flash and Storm—three years of justice and dignity denied. Ann. Int’l. — News Release — Eur 64/05/98, August 4, 1998).

22 This list includes all missing persons, civil as well as military; however, this report refers only to missing civil persons from the region encompassed by the former “Sector North.”

23 With respect to the sensitivity of this subject and to the circumstances under which interviewed witnesses are living (especially their fear due to the mentioned circumstances), it is very likely that questioned persons did not disclose all of their information. In some villages, CHC activists could not find anyone who would speak about the events in those villages. Thus, some areas remain “uncovered.”

24 CHC will soon focus on missing persons of all national entities and will ask for the co-operation of other organisations in dealing with this problem.
Treatment of civilians — victims

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KARLOVAC COUNTY

Duga Resa municipality

141. Božica KARAC, (f), Serb, b. 1900, Koranska strana 16, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. She stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm, at which time she disappeared, and since then there has not been any record of her.

143. Andelko (Danilo) KONČALOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1966 in Donji Skrad, Donji Skrad 59, Duga Resa Municipality, Karlovac County. When military–police operation Storm started, he left his native village to hide at the local UNPROFOR camp. He disappeared on his way to the camp. No one knows anything about his fate.

Karlovac municipality

144. Miška DIPALO, (f), Serb, b. 1924 in Mala Crkvinja, Trupinjak 6, Karlovac Municipality, Karlovac County. She stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm when she disappeared. No one knows anything about her fate.

145. Slobodan MILJENOVIC, (m), Serb, b. 1961 in Čatarnja, Čatarnja 2, Karlovac Municipality, Karlovac County. He was last seen on a bus, on his way to exile. He changed his mind at the last moment and asked the driver to let him out, saying that he has not done anything wrong to anyone, and that he wished to stay in his village. He disappeared a month later. There has not been any record of him since then.

146. Pero (Miloš) RUJAN, called Russian, (m), Serb, b. 1950 in Donji Sjeničak, Donji Sjeničak bb, Karlovac Municipality, Karlovac County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and then disappeared. His disappearance is connected to the entrance of the Croatian army into the village.

Plaški municipality

147. Rade (Nikola) RALIĆ, (m), Serb, born around 1933, Blatra, Plaški Municipality, Karlovac County. He did not leave the village during military–police operation Storm. He disappeared immediately after the action. No trace of him has been found since then.

25 According to some sources of information, Mišo Rudan was killed near his home, and his corpse rotted in the meadow. Other sources say that a neighbour buried his headless, rotten body. Yet a third source stated that someone erected a cross on the place where the dead body was found. Due to the fact that it was not possible to identify the corpse of Pero Rudan, he is listed under the section on "missing persons" in this report.
Slunj municipality

148. Miloš SAVIĆ, (m), Serb, 80 years old, Donje Primilje, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. There has not been any trace of him since then.

149. Duro (Miloza) VUKELIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1912 in Zbijeg Močilski, Broćanac bb, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He stayed at his house during military-police operation Storm and disappeared on August 12, 1995.

150. Sasa (Peri) ZORAJA, (m), Serb, b. 1939 in Mliničko selo, Broćanac bb, Slunj Municipality, Karlovac County. He stayed in his home during military-police operation Storm. He disappeared on August 8, 1995. It is unknown what happened to him.

Vojnići municipality

151. Miloš (Dmitrija) BASARA, (m), Serb, b. 1950 in Malešević selo, Malešević selo 18, Vojnići Municipality, Karlovac County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. He was last seen on October 9, 1995 in his village. Since then, all traces of him have vanished.

152. MILICA (?), called MUNTIC (?), Serb, 70 years old, Knežević Kosa, Vojnići Municipality, Karlovac County. She remained in the village during military-police operation Storm and disappeared in the period between August 6 and February 1996. Her fate is entirely unknown to us.

153. Kata NAPIJALO, (?), Serb, 80 years old, Kolarić selo, Vojnići Municipality, Karlovac County. She stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. All traces of her have been lost since then.

154. Dušan RADIČANIN, (m), Serb, b. 1921 in Selakova Poljana, Selakova Poljana 7, Vojnići Municipality, Karlovac County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. He was last seen by a resident of the village on August 10 or 11, 1995.

155. Petar VERGAŠ, (m), Serb, 55 years old, Široka Rijeka, Vojnići Municipality, Karlovac County. He was seated in Široka Rijeka during military-police operation Storm and later on he disappeared.

SISAK-MOSLAVINA COUNTY

Glina municipality

156. Miška (Vasilije) BOGDANOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. Sakić, 1960 in Brjeniški, Majski Poljane bb, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. She was last seen on August 23, 1995 and since then all traces of her have been lost.
157. Miša (Dušan) DEMONJJA, (m), Serb, 22 years old, Vlahović 82, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. On August 7 or 8, 1995, when the Croatian army entered the village, he was arrested and taken to an unknown location. All traces of him have been lost since then.

158. Miša (Lazo) ĐIMTOVIĆ, (f), Serb, b. Dimitrović, born around 1923 in Bojna, Bojna 102a, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She stayed in Bojna during military–police operation Storm. The Croatian army entered the village on August 6, 1995 and she disappeared in that period. Her fate is entirely unknown.

159. Petar JAGROVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1926 in Kordun, Vlahović 125, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and disappeared on August 7 or 8, 1995 when the Croatian army entered the village.

160. Ljubica (Anenije) JEKIĆ, (f), Serb, 80 years old, Brnjeuška, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. She disappeared a few days later. Her fate is entirely unknown to us.

161. Slavko (Mirko) MACAKANJA, (m), of unknown ethnicity, b. 1951 in Šaševa, Šaševa 14, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. His uncle died a few days before the military operation and he wished to bury him in the local cemetery on August 6, 1995. He was last seen putting his uncle’s body on a horse–drawn cart. All traces of him have been lost since then.

162. Milan (Stevan) MARTIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1917 in Dabrini, Dabrina 113, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He disappeared on September 1, 1995 and his house was burned on that same day. He was a mentally disabled person, and there is a possibility that he was killed in the house.

163. Petar (Milan) MRAKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born around 1915 in Vlahović, Vlahović 89, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. He disappeared on August 7 or 8, 1995, when the Croatian army entered the village.

164. Dušan (Petar) RADANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 60 years old, Brhovo, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in his village during military–police operation Storm. He disappeared sometime between August 7 and 23, 1995.

165. Andrija SARAPA, (m), Serb, b. 1941 in Gornji Klasnić, Gornji Klasnić bb, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He remained in the village during military–police operation Storm and disappeared when the Croatian soldiers entered the village. According to unconfirmed information, he was killed by members of Croatian army. However, since this information cannot be confirmed, he is considered missing.

166. Ilija ŠKANJAKA, (m), Serb, b. 1910 in Klasnić, Brnjeuška 225, Glina Municipality, Sisak–Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm. He was last seen on August 20, 1995.
167. Stana TINTOR, (f), Serb, born in Trnovac, Trnovac Gliški bb, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. Since then all traces of her have been lost. Her clothes were found near the well in her sister's backyard, where she lived, but her body was not found in it.

168. Darko (Branko) TRIVANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1974 in Mali Gradac, Momčilović Kosa 19, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm and when the Croatian army entered the village he took off in the direction of the hills in order to hide. He took a rifle with him. He was last seen on August 7 or 8, 1995.

169. Jovan (Milol) UGLJEŠA, Serb, b. 1927 in Kozaperovica, Kozaperovica, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. Every trace of him has been lost since then. Some people believe that he was killed and buried beside the road leading to Mali Gradac. He has been reported missing because the place of his alleged burial has never been exhumed.

170. Stanko (Stojana) VINCĐ, (m), Serb, b. 1921, Dragotina bb, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm and disappeared on August 19, 1995 when the Croatian military passed through the village. All traces of him have been lost since then.

171. Stanko (Ilije) VUJASINOVIĆ, (m), Serb, 65 years old, Brupno, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village together with Dušan Radanović. They both disappeared in the period between August 7 and 23, 1995.

172. Vasilija VUJAKLIJA, (f), Serb, 78 years old, M. Oblaj 41, Glina Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina. She went into exile together with all other residents of the village but decided to return. She was last seen in the village during the military-police operation Storm.

Dvor municipality

173. Slavko (Emil) BAŠTEK, (m), Croat, b. 1950 in Dvor, Dvor Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in Dvor during military-police operation Storm. He was last seen then and afterwards all traces of him were lost.

174. Nikola (Ljuban) CVETOJEVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1942, Donji Javoranj 60, Dvor Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He suffered from heart disease and stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. He was hiding there for a few days and later, he disappeared. His neighbour heard a gun shot from and later saw a bulldozer digging a ditch in the neighbouring plot of land. He presumes that Nikola Cvetojević was killed and buried on the land of Rade Đurić.26

26 The wife of Nikola Cvetojević reported to the police that her husband was buried in a unidentified field. The police marked the place but the excavation still has not been carried out.
175. Stojka NUŽDA, (f), Serb, born in 1906 or 1907, Trgovi, Dvor Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and disappeared at that time.

176. Dušan MIRKOVIĆ, (m), Serb, born around 1920, Donja Srpunica, Dvor Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and all traces of him have been lost since then.

177. Ivanka (Stevan) PEŠIĆ, (f), Serb, 65 years old, born in Gvozdanski, Majdan bb, Dvor Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and disappeared in the period between August 6 and August 9, 1995.

178. Nenad (Damjan) STANIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1924 in Gornji Javoranj, Gornji Javoranj 30, Dvor Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in Gornji Javoranj during military–police operation Storm. Since then all traces of him have been lost.

179. Milorad (Daragan) TRIVANOVIĆ, (m), Serb, around 40 years, Zat, Dvor Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm and disappeared in the period between August 6 and 9, 1995.

Gvozd municipality

180. Nikola (Milo) BRNJAVAC, (m), Serb, 40 years old, Samardžije, Slavsko Polje, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in his village during military–police operation Storm, when he disappeared.

181. Dražan DUGOŠIĆA, (m), Serb, 65 years old, Blatuša, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm, when he disappeared. All traces of him have been lost since then.

182. Nikola (Ostoja) KOLONĐZIJA, (m), Serb, b. 1950, Crni Potok, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He was last seen in Crni Potok on August 10, 1993.

183. Radoslav (Stojan) SORDIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1939, Gredani, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He joined the refugee column that was cut off near Glina and decided to return to his village. He was last seen on August 7, 1995 at around 9:00 a.m.

184. Vasilij (Uroš) MIŠČEVić, (m), Serb, b. 1950, Katinovac, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military–police operation Storm, when he was last seen.27

185. Stevan (Marko) PAVLOVIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1928, Kirin, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in Kirin during military–police operation Storm, when he was last seen.

186. Nikola RAJAČ, (m), Serb, Ostrožin, Gvozd Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He disappeared during military–police operation Storm.

27 A rumour circulated in the village that the dead body of Vasilij Miščević was in the well, at street number 38.
Petrovca municipality

187. Dragan DAVORIJA, (m), Serb, 70 years old, born in Grabovac, Šušnjar, Petrovca Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He disappeared during military-police operation Storm.

188. Soka KRNJAJIĆ, (f), Serb, 70 years old, Lučani, Petrovca Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. She was a sick and disabled person, and she stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm, when she was last seen.

189. Nikola (Stevana) JEKIĆ, (m), Serb, b. 1936, in Bansi Grabovac, Bansi Grabovac 82, Petrovca Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. One day on his way to Gavrilović Company, where he worked during the entire Krajina period, he disappeared.

190. Mirko MARIČIĆ, (m), Serb, around 50 years old, Šušnjar, Petrovca Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He stayed in the village during military-police operation Storm. He disappeared the same day that Dragan Davorija disappeared.

191. Miloš MILJČEVIĆ, (m), Serb, 70 years old, Lučani, Petrovca Municipality, Sisak-Moslavina County. He was elderly and sick. When the Croatian army entered the village during military-police operation Storm, he disappeared.
CHAPTER FOUR

Cemeteries

War results in all types of victims. The most tragic consequence of war is the death of civilians. This report deals with the people who died and were killed persons during military-police operation Storm and whose deaths could have been avoided. It also deals with the way victims of the war were treated by the authorities, most of all with respect to identification, registration and burial. The CHC monitors and activists were not able to do any work regarding the issue during military-police operation Storm. Immediately after the war stopped, they engaged in the following activities: first, finding victims; second, monitoring (or at least trying to monitor) burials of the victims; and third, searching for information on the fate of registered and unregistered victims.

After the first phase, the second phase followed and the investigative phase went in three directions: monitoring the situation in the cemeteries and in public burials, finding secret and unknown graves, and finding witnesses. The primary goal was to prevent any unnecessary victims in the future. The CHC activists did everything in their power to prevent the killing of more people.

1. Situation of Burials after Military-Police Operation Storm

The procedure regarding burial of all war victims should have been precisely documented and identified by the authorities. Deaths should have been officially confirmed, and the victims should have been buried by the state in their native town or villages, if they did not have relatives. However, we have witnessed an entirely different course of events. Many victims who were killed during military-police operation Storm were not properly buried and often their bodies were torn apart by stray animals. There are a great number of grave mounds in the villages and lonely places. Many victims were buried near their own houses or places where their bodies were found. The authorities took away many corpses from the places where they were killed to unknown locations. Victims were also buried under NN (Unknown) signs, even though their identity could have been established very easily. Many mass graves exist, in which victims were buried under one tombstone in clear violation of international human rights law. In order to carry out such investigations, the CHC activists needed a special authorised permit, which they could not receive. The numerous witnesses' statements speak clearly about the manner in which the victims were buried.
ANNEX 62

NGO “Veritas”, Žrtve «Oluje» i postoluje,
Bilten No. 114, August 2007, pp. 5–13
Билен
Август 2007.
12 ГОДИНА ЕТНОЦИДА

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МКСЈ - ПРЕДМЕТ ГОТОВИНА, ЧЕРМАК, МАРКАЧ
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КОМЕНТАРИ - ИНФОРМАЦИЈЕ - САОПШТЕЊА - 73
2. Victims of “Storm” and post-Storm

2.1. General background

While collecting information on the killed and missing Serbs in Operation “Storm” and post-Storm, Veritas has run (and is still running) into great obstacles. One of the major obstacles is precisely the policy of concealing, covering up, delaying and various other ways of obstruction by the official Croatian state which controlled the areas where Serbian victims mostly remained behind. On the other hand, once the RSK was overrun, the RSK government’s Commission for PoW Exchange, which was in charge of records of Serbs killed and missing in all the territory of Croatia and the RSK, ended its work. This role of record keeping on killed, missing and captured Serbs from Croatia and the RSK was taken on by Veritas, which was set up by those same activists who were the members of the RSK government’s Commission. Since Veritas is a non-governmental organization, the Croatian State Commission has not treated it as an equal partner in discussions and negotiations.

Records on killed, missing and captured Serbs from the RSK, under the Dayton (“mini”) Agreement signed on 17 November 1995 by the then Foreign Ministers of the FRY and the Republic of Croatia, Mr. Milan Milutinovic and Mr. Mate Granic, respectively, have been taken over by the Commission for Humanitarian Issues and Missing Persons of the FRY Government (now the Commission for Missing Persons of the Government of the Republic of Serbia), with which Veritas has maintained good cooperation and in whose work Veritas associates have taken part directly or indirectly.

The work done by these commissions has been monitored also by international organizations such as: the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). From among non-governmental organizations active in Croatia, only the Croatian Helsinki Committee (HHO) participated in determining the number of victims of “Storm”.

The real battle for international verification of “Storm” victims (and, one may say, of all Serb victims) has been going on for full twenty years.

The way this battle has been waged and which point we have reached in this process will be presented below:

2.2 Information provided by the Republic of Croatia

2.2.1. Report by the Government of the Republic of Croatia

The report of the Croatian Government, dated 8 February 1996, sent to the United Nations Security Council and all diplomatic and consular missions accredited in the Republic of Croatia, says that 911 enemies (read Serbs), of whom 462 civilians, 404 soldiers and 45 persons of undefined status were mortally wounded (killed) in Operation “Storm”

[.....]

2.2.2. Protocols

The Commission of the Croatian Government for Detained/PoWs and Missing Persons delivered, successively in the course of 1997 and 1998, to the Serbian side 580 protocols for unidentified bodies of Serbian victims of “Storm”.

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According to their status, as indicated in the protocols, there were 231 civilians, 317 soldiers, 3 police officers and 29 persons of unknown status. As to their sex, there were 460 men, 95 women and 25 persons of unknown sex.

The unknown (NN) status and sex of persons related to the completely burnt, charred, dismembered or decaying corpses.

Full protocols include: a photograph; fingerprint(s); information on identity, status, sex, place and time of discovery; description of footwear, clothing and personal belongings; and burial site.

Some (incomplete) protocols lack photographs (35), fingerprints (523) and they seldom contain descriptions of personal belongings, while the descriptions of clothing and footwear are very scanty.

On the basis of such protocols, the families of missing persons make preliminary identifications on the premises of Veritas.

It should be noted that preliminary identifications made on the basis of protocols are not final. They serve only as a way for families to recover bodies and to make final identification upon exhumation. The ultimate goal of such identifications is to enable families to collect the remains of their loved ones and to transport them for burial in places of their choosing.

2.2.4 HHO Report

The first NGO of Croatian provenience which collected and made public information on Serb victims of “Storm” and post-Storm was the Croatian Helsinki Committee (HHO). The HHO has, in its Report “Operation ‘Storm’ and Beyond” for UN sector South, of April 1999, published a list of 410 civilians and the manner in which they all died. On the other hand, in its Report “Operation ‘Storm’ and Beyond” for UN sector North of July 2001, it published a list of 286 civilians and the manner in which they died. Veritas has welcomed the publication of these reports because they were the only ones in Croatia which took Serbian victims seriously.

At the same time, Veritas made a number of critical comments on the reports, namely:

a) delay of reports – the reports were published relatively late, although the information was available and known even a few years earlier, which reflects the intention to cover up, for a while, information on crimes against Serbs;

b) diminution of the number of victims – the list contains only a third of all victims compared to the Veritas list (killing captured enemy soldiers or the killing of enemy soldiers after they had stopped putting up resistance is also considered the criminal act of a war crime);

c) exclusive right to truth – a well orchestrated media campaign followed the publishing of these reports, which should have, considering that the organization was of Croatian provenience, secured it an exclusive right to the truth about Serb victims in “Storm”. This would have happened had it not been for Veritas which investigated far longer and more seriously the plight and ordeals of Serbs.

The above comments have resulted in the row between the HHO and Veritas over the number of Serb victims in “Storm” and post-Storm. HHO leaders repeatedly and publicly attacked the Veritas list calling it biased (as it made the living dead and turned soldiers into civilians).
Thus, the HHO, as an NGO, joined attacks and controversies over *Veritas* information. It sometimes became an obsession that may be interpreted as "a state task" of all segments of society in the Republic of Croatia.

Even before such attacks, which were predictable, *Veritas* had made public the names of victims in various ways (in the press, publications, books, on its internet site) in order to make these lists accessible by all interested parties, including the public and professional critics, with a view to getting international verification for Serb victims as well.

To this end, *Veritas* has mainly gained international verification and, with the passing of time, it is hoped, this objective will be fully achieved.

\[\ldots\]

3. Victims of "Storm" – *Veritas* records

3.1. General background

By using all known methods of gathering information on killed and missing Serbs, taking into account also information from Croatian sources, *Veritas* has compiled its lists of Serbs killed and missing in "Storm" and post-Storm.

The main criteria according to which victims were included in the *Veritas* list were as follows:

a) That they lived or fought in the RSK,

b) That they were killed or went missing in "Storm" or post-Storm in the RSK territory or in refugee convoys or Croatian-run detention camps or prisons; and

c) If it is certain or very likely that their death was caused or related to Operation "Storm".

On the basis of the above-mentioned criteria, *Veritas* verified, until 15 July 2007, 1,922 killed and missing persons (tables 1 and 2). Of all killed and missing persons, so far 635 sets of human remains have been buried (families have confirmed identification, collected and buried the remains) and 1,287 persons are still regarded as belonging to the missing category.

Given the lapse of time since the cessation of hostilities, it is highly unlikely that anyone from the list of missing persons is still alive, so much so that the missing are more and more understood to belong to the killed category.

3.2. Victims by region

The criterion for classifying victims by region has been the place of their killing or where they were last heard from or sighted.

From the point of view of the number of victims (table 1), most of them were from the region of northern Dalmatia - 607, followed by the region of Banija - 560; Lika - 478; Kordun - 161; BiH territory - 90 (those killed or missing in the fighting with the Croatian army. HVO and ABiH in the border belts or in refugee convoys bombed by aircraft).
At the time of Operation "Storm", 20 Serbs were killed in Eastern Slavonia, mainly along the battle lines with the Croatian army forces or as a result of the terrorist groups infiltrated by the Croatian army in adjacent Serb villages.

The victims who died in the region described as Croatia (6 of them) related to the suffering of two Serbs travelling in a refugee convoy on the road from Kordun via Sisak to Serbia, to three Serb Krajina army PoWs who subsequently died in Croatian hospitals from the beatings and injuries sustained, as well as to one victim who died in the post-Storm period in the area of Ogulin.

Comparing the number of victims with the number of inhabitants reveals that the region of Lika has the most victims (1%), followed by Banija and Northern Dalmatia (0.7%) and Kordun (0.3%).
2. Крива "Олује" и постојање

2.1. Опште информације

Прикупљајући податке о погинулим и несакалим Србима у акцији "Олуја" и постојању, Вербица се сукоби (и још увијек сукова) са великим пресеком. Једна од најважнијих препрека је управо политика скирања, прикривања, отежавања и разних других опстрења од службених хрватских државе, која је контролисала подручје на ком је прегледан и остале српске жртве. С друге стране, подом РСК, престала је са радом у Комисији Владе РСК за размјене заробљеника, која је водила бригу о погинулим и несакалим Србима са једног подручја Хрватске и РСК. Бригу о погинулим, несакалим и заробљеним Србима из Хрватске и РСК, након пада РСК, преузео је Вербица, чији су стручници и активисти били људи који су водили и Комисију Владе РСК за размјене. Пошто је Вербица некадашња организација, хрватска држава Комисија није тога ни третирала као равноправну партнерку у разговорима и преговорима.

Бригу о несакалим, погинулим и заробљеним Србима из РСК, на основу Дејтонског "малог" споразума, потписаног 17. новембра 1995. године од стране талањских министарата иностраних послова СЈ и РХ, Миlena Милутиновића и Мате Грацића, преузео је Комисија Владе РСК за хуманитарна постигања и несакале лица (када Комисија за несакале лица Владе Републике БиХ), са којом Вербица њено ношње добру сарадњу и у чијем раду учествују директно или неправилно, и Вербица њено сарадњу.

Рад ових комисија пратио се и међународне организације: Међународни комитет Правне крете (МКЦК), Међународна Комисија за несакале лица (ИСМР) и Међународни кривични код за бившу Југославију (МКСЈ). Од некадашњих организација са подручја Хрватске на узарадиње жртава "Олује" укључује се једино Хрватски Хечински овчар (ХХО).

Права битка за међународну верификацију жртава "Олује" (а то се може рећи и за се српске жртве) траје већ данас данасак година.

Као се водиха та битка и докле се стигло, нисмо у едријешним тачкама:

2.2. Полазни РХ

2.2.1. Извештај Владе РХ

У извештају хрватске Владе, од 8. фебруара 1996. године, упућеном Савјetu безбедности УН-а и свим дипломатским-конзулатским представницама уредоманим у РХ, наводи се да је у акцији "Олуја" смртно страдало 911 неприпадала (то су Срби), од чега су 462 цивилина, 444 војника и 45 иноземних статуса. У том из-

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2.2.5. Проблеми

Комисија Владе РХ за заточене и несталих суковнине у току 1997. и 1998. године доста била српској страни 580 протокола за индентификацију личности српских жртва из "Олуја".

По статусу, према сваком од протокола има 231 циклу, 317 војника, 3 милиционера и 29 неизпознатих ствари. Године по цикума, има 460 муслимана, 95 жена и 25 неопознатих поса.

Статус и пост под описом НН односи се на посљедње и ускоро лише, раскемеши и расправиштеване лепове.

Понеки протоколи садрже фотографије, опис прета или претку, податке о идентитету, статусу, посту, мјесту и времену проба, опис обуће, одеће и личних ствари, те мјесту употребе лепа.

У неким (неопознатим) протоколима недос тоју флорилица (35), описи претку (523), рижички су они у којим се нисе описани лични ствари, а опис обуће одеће и обеће су врло описани.

На основу ових протокола поредне неста них лица прилеђали су препознавање мјестом Врбаска.

Треба написати да препознавање идентификације на основу протокола није конечни. Оне су само пут да породио део до тијела и да се на тијело, неком експерименту, изрчи конечна идентификација. Конечни је извршак приватне идентификације у експерименту на првом постапку остава своја миса и да их врати и сахране у мјестима по власни карактер.

2.2.4. Извештај ХХО

Прихватања организација са кривцем предложак, као је прихватили и јавно образова недоста бесплатних жртава у "Олују" и постепено је Хрватски Капитолион синдром ХХО. ХХО са извештаја "Војна операција Олуја" и посебно за УН сектор Југ од марта 1999. године објављиво муку и начин експедиције за 436 цикума, а у извештају "Војна операција Олуја" за УН сектор Север од јула 2003. године објавило муку и начин експедиције за 286 цикума. Врбас се подржано објављиво ових извештаја пошто се уводе у Хрватског националних трендирали српске жртве.

Интересовац је израђен и неколико кривца предложак на ове извештаје:
а) Као нашење идентификација - извештаји су прихватили као основном објављиво како су подаци биле доступне и лакше и неколико година износи, у шта се очекују неверица да се превреме премахну подаци о захтевима на Србима;

б) Уложеног броја жртава - списак жртава није тренутан укупних жртава у односу на Врбаски списак (убијање заробљених непријатељских војника или убијање непријатељских војника неколико пружаних оцрта је такође кривично дело ратног законодавства);  

ц) Експедиција праве на испиту - добро осмислење медицинске експедиције окончаним немачким услугама, што је, с обзиром да се ради о организацији и хоругвам паралелним, требало да би обезбедио експедицију праве на испиту у оружаним жртавима у "Олују", што би се искривило и десило да и Врбас није стражан, уклоне своје и страни није, страни у Срби.

Овај процес децемба добио је и до сукоба између XXO-а и Врбаса о броју жртава страних Срба у Олују и постепено. Чланови XXO-а су у овај начин јавно нападали Врбас кроз списак пропаженог жртава за необичн(({живе проглашених жртава, раних нијансама). 

Тако се и ХХО као немирни организација произилазе чланови и посебним критикама за "државни планета" свих сексуалних друштава у РХ.

Врбас је и први од њих напада, а било су предизвици, објављивање извештаја жртава на разне средства (прека штампа, публикација, книги, сајт на интернету) како би ти списци биле доступни ошим заинтересованим, што значи и важност и критичност структура, а са цилем да и српске жртве добију доступни мањи суних верификацију.

У остављању тога диза, Врбас је у претежном додир дочеше обично верификацију, а са временом, подамо се, да ће бити у потпуности и остале.

2.3. Експедиција и идентификација

Почео од 28.01. године, хрватска страна је у сарадњи са Хрватским трбушанима, експедиција 691. лет (301 са кинеског гробља, 154 са грчког, 27 са породичних, 49 са жетвица и 160 са песевинског гробља) док је хрватска страна у сарадњи са извештају хорнетера експедиција још 37 делима из мањих нијанса ("чешица") на гробницу, што укупно износи 728 експедицијских експедицијских нињства за "Олују" и постепено.

Ови делима су најак експедиције пренесени у Завод за сукоб македонију у Загреб, где је обиљежена аутопсија и узети умерени користи за ДНК анализу, осим ових експедицијских са песевинског гробља, који су, већак преледа и узимање компанијских узорак за ДНК, поново прирађен на исто место.

14 Ратни гробови: некици у некадашњој блокови, некадашњих месец, најдено две жртве, где је тела погребано без знака некадашњих државних стандарда и без погребних документа, није довољно са стручном подршком, мртвеники, команда или извештајног опрема, установи добијене претње држава и да би се насљедновали да се сматра живот извешта и да се сафроли занатства.
Протоколи екскумираних лешева, осим оних екскумираних са житичног и петрињског гробље свих година, такође су достављени српској страни и у посједу су Већине у Србији. Они се уживају у виду екскумираних лешева у Србији.

Идентификација кључним методом била је доминантна до прије годину две, док се ДНК коришћен само у случајевима у којима кључним методом није дошло до резултата.

Док је доминирала идентификација кључним методом на коначну идентификацију у Загребу изнада су се само породице племићких и динамичких лешева у породицама изнада које су идео и на основу протокола сачињених породица, протокола сачињених посједа екскумирања, као и на основу алте мортен популација. Проблем је био у томе што је на основу посједовања идентификације било немогуће обавити племићку идентификацију за скоро половину екскумираних лешева.

Даљи проблем је био у томе што узорци крили су ДНК анализу, односно постојали тек анализе, које су породице несталих налази у ЈСР-у на посједу СПЦ, али су се нашли одступници у Загребу, где су се нашли лешеви, као што је узорци каснији од екскумираних лешева за ДНК анализу, односно постојали тек анализе, али су се нашли одступници у Загребу, где су се нашли лешеви, као што је узорци каснији од екскумираних лешева за ДНК анализу, као и на посједу ЈСР-а на основу алте мортен популација. Проблем је био у томе што су се нашли лешеви, као што је узорци каснији од екскумираних лешева за ДНК анализу, као и на посједу ЈСР-а на основу алте мортен популација. Проблем је био у томе што су се нашли лешеви, као што је узорци каснији од екскумираних лешева за ДНК анализу, као и на посједу ЈСР-а на основу алте мортен популација.

Послије дугогодишњег отезања и одуговања, ЈСР и Хрватска су на основу каснији потписале споразум о размени крилих и комплетних ДНК-а профил кода. На основу тог споразума између ЈСР-а и Управе за заштите нестале Хрватске у периоду 2005. године почео је развој података о несталима, која је, до маја 2006. године реализована са претерана узорац ДНК добијених од чланова породица несталих, односно из тијела преноћених у масовним и посједованим гробницама. Та подуправа ДНК узорац реализова су позитивним идентификацијама 26 несталих, чија су тијела успели преузети чланови њихових породица у фебруару и јулу 2006. године.

Од јула 2006. године хрватска страна није обавештавала ни позивала породице на конану идентификацију, након их има од раније а нека подуправа су се десила и у мултимедијуму. Утицак је да реализација споразума регулативно добро кренула, али је, због описања хрватске стране, дошло до застоја.

2.4. Регистрована гробна мјеста

Већине тачно распоређују са још 785 регистрованих (познатих) гробних мјеста српских лешева на подручју Хрватске од чега 554 из "Олује" и постоле у (169 се односи на "Блесек" и 62 са других локација), која су, с мало добре воле с хрватске стране, могу одмах екскумирати, као што су могли и ранијих година.

Хрватска страна "признала" још око 350 регистрованих гробних мјеста српских лешева.

Као разлог због чега још не иде у процес экскумирања српских лешева, па макар и ових што сами признају, хрватска страна је оправдали са популарним капацијама Завода за српску медицину у Загребу и најавили су наставак екскумирања чим се растеретије процес за смештај лешева, што зависи од динамиčке процесе идентификације.

Хрватска страна је на састанку експертних група Комисије Савета министарства СЦЗ за нестале лица и Управе за заштите нестале Хрватске у Београду, најавила наставак екскумирања српских лешева за период од 2004. године, рачунајући да ће до тада већи број несталих, као и екскумираних лешева бити и идентификовани.

Односно договора са састанка експертних група Комисије за нестале лица Владе Републике Србије у Пожаревцу, у Београду 13. и 14. марта 2007. године, хрватска страна је у јуnu 2007. године екскумирала гробље у Петрињи (169), на којем су биле поколе у српску мртву из акције "Олуја".

Већине тачно распоређују са још 785 регистрованих (познатих) гробних мјеста српских лешева на подручју Хрватске од чега 554 из "Олује" и постоле у (169 се односи на "Блесек" и 62 са других локација), која су, с мало добре воле с хрватске стране, могу одмах екскумирати, као што су могли и ранијих година.

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2.5. Нерегистрована мјеста укупна

Вершица је прикупио и велик број информација о нерегистрованим (могућим) мјестима укупана, појединачним и масовним18, страдалих Срба у свим фазама рата. Међутим, све те информације тек треба проверити на лицу мјеста, што ће објективно могуће бити пошто се екскомурирују позната мјеста укупана.

По Вершицовим подацима један број леђа ће ће намјерно уништити (спаливањем и сл.) или ненамјерно (изгорије заједно са кућама), а један број је скрићен и то намјерно (убачени у јаме, бунаре и сл.) или ненамјерно (остали на неприступачним или мање приступачним мјестима, тамо где су и страдали). Постоји могућност да се кад тад пронађу тијела из категорије скрићених, да се, нажалост, оне из категорије уништених никада неће наћи.

Подаци о српским леђевима из категорије скрићених ("вртних") леђева свакодневно пристижу у Вершица. Нажалост, Крајина је скоро пуста и још није за ових дванаест година детаљно истражена.19

2.6. Општукија

Хрватска страна је годинама избјегавала екскомурију српских леђева. До сада је екскомурила само оно што је од ње тражило и у че- му је и само учествовало Тужилаштво МКСЈ-а (Кипић, Грачач, Кореница, Житник) и још нешто из појединачних односи "вртних" гробних мјеста. Екскомурије у којима је учествовало Тужилаштво МКСЈ-а извршено су првенствено за потребе кривичних истакных поступака који су вођени против хрватских генерала за ратне злочице почиње у "Олуји" у Сектору Југа. На екскомуријама леђевима стручњаци МКСЈ-а обавили су и феноменална вртлачње ради утврђивања узора смрти, а учествују заједно са хрватским службеним органима и у процесу идентификације. Тако се индиректно остварује и хуманитарни аспект - предаја идентифицираних посмртних остатака породици ради сакрање.

Хрватска страна максимално разликује идентификацију све екскомурих леђева и у недоглед одложе почетак нових екскомурија. У јуну ове године, "бјежачи" од даљих екскомурија у сектору Југа20 (за злочице у том сектору води се кривични поступак против хрватских генерала пред МКСЈ), извршена је прву групу екзаменуна леђева у сектору Сјевер (Петриња - 160 леђева). За разлику од ранијих екзаменација, екскомурих леђева са те локације, послије узимања комплетних узорака, одмах су враћени на исто мјесто, гдје ће остати до коначне идентификације, која би, на основу досадашњег искуства могла потражити и годину-двају. На тај начин изостала је објактија леђева (на лицу мјеста обављен само јавски презегл), а самом тим и утврђивање узора смрти, што имплицира изостапак кривичног протока лица одговорних за злочине над Србима у сектору Сјевер (Кордун и Ванија).

Очигледно је да Хрватска то ради из разлога што би преналазење свих српских леђева уве- лико повирило њен "ими" као "жртве српске агресије" и што би велики број српских леђева могао, у негативном смислу, утицати на исход сеуђења хрватским генералима пред Хашким судом, оштевеном за учење у "удруженом зоми- факом подврзаути чији је заједнички циљ био прископио и трајно укључивање српског становништва из рејона Крајина".

Због свега тога, проблем разешања судби несталих Срба и прпака бивше ЈНА на подручују Хрватске не смее се прегледати само хрватској држави.

2.7. Књига несталих за подручје Хрватске

Комисија Савезне Владе СРЈ за хуманитарну питавања и нестал људи у Хрватској, о Уред Владе РХ за заточене и нестале, на санштаку одржаном 21. и 22. новембра 2001. године у Бежанији, "кодреже се настојања МКЦК-а за прикупљање података о несталим лицима из акције "Биља" и "Олуја" по критеријумима МКЦК, чиме ће се добити јединствен и најтачнији број несталих лица у том акцијама, јер у овом тренутку по правилима МКЦК-а хрватски Правни крат је евиденцирао 1.001 нестало лице, МКЦК 709, а према подацима СРЈ 2.073 лица".

Након тог састанака, МКЦК је у сарадњи са Вершицом и са Удруженом породица не- сталих, прикупио доста нових података о не- сталим Србима у операцији "Олуја."21

Упоредба пописа несталих из те књиге с Вергилиевом базом, утврђено је да кроз Вергилиеву базу пролази 823 лица са пописа несталих и 216 лица са пописа извјештаја о смрти, што је укупна број 1.039 лица. С друге стране, на најновијем попису несталих лица Управе за нестала лица РХ налази се 1.100 лица, а на Вергилиевом списку несталих налази се 2.480.

Анализом наведених бројева поицили је да књига несталих лица у Хрватској не садржи више од 1.400 лица с Вергилиевог списка. Разлог што се током овог периода с Вега снис несталих лица у Хрватској не налази у књизи лежи у томе што Вергилиев списак несталих још није верификован од стране МКЦК-а, чиме увећано допринос и порођаје несталих лица који су из разноразних разлога изјећено у код МКЦК-а током периода захтјева за тражење, али и и чињеница да је националних 300 отворених захтјева код МКЦК-а нису упли у ову књизу због тога што је попис у књизи закључен много раније него што се књига појавила у јавности.

Истовремено са објављивањем Књиге несталих лица у Хрватској, МКЦК је затворен своју кабинетару у Хрватској, те одлучиво да је током 2007. године преда Хрватском Центром кризе (ХЦК) попис и одговорност за то."
2) 1,922 погинула и несталга лица. Од укупног броја погинулих и несталих, до сада је сакрашено (породице потврдили идентификацију, превезе и сахрање посмртне остатаке) 635 посмртних остатакова, док се 1,287 лица још води у категорији несталих.

С обзиром на проток времена од престанка ратних дејстава, мала је вјероватноћа да је неко са списка несталих међу живима, тако да и нестали попричану значаје погинулих.

3.2. Жртве по регионима

Како критеријум за развој држава по регионима, узето је место погибије, односно место посљедњег јања или ивица жртве.

Гледано по броју жртава (табела 1), највише их је из ретије сјеверна Далмација 607; слиједи Банија 560; Либа 478; Кордун 161; подручје БиХ 90 (погинули и нестале у сукобима са ХВ, ХВО, армијом БиХ у граничном појасу или у автотранспортима избеглицких колона) 25.

У врјеме "Олује" у Источној Славонији је страдало 20 Срба, углавном на линијама одвица у сукобу са ХВ, или од упада терористичких група ХВ-а у рубна српска мјеста.

Жртве страдале у региону означеном Хрватска (6), односно се на страдање двоје Срба у избеглицкој колони која се кретала аутопутом са Кордунца преко Слска ка Србији, затим на трајну заробљену припаднику СВК који су од повређивача и битињача умрли у хрватским болницама и на једну жртву страдалу у периоду постује на подручју Огулин.

Упоређивањем броја жртава са бројем становника, највише страдалих је у Лици (1%), слиједи Банија и Сјеверна Далмација (0,7%) и Кордун (0,3%).

3.3. По времени погибије/нестанка

По времени погибије/нестанка (табела 4), у 1995. години, за непогинулих броја жртава, од чета у августу 1,764 (91,7%), септембра 56 (2,9%), октобра 32 (1,7%), новембра 11 (0,6%) у дечембра 5 (0,3%).

Податак о броју убијених/несталих у августу 1995. године (91,7%) указује на концентрацију интензивности у временском интервалу од свега 26 дана, што значи да је нешто у првом још убијено по 68 људи.

До краја 1995. године број убијених/несталих се смањио, не због тога што је уведен појачана заштита пред заробљеним Србима, већ углавном због тога што је било сваким даним све мање Срба за од стране. Наиме, ратне хуманитарне организације су одводиле заробљене старе, младе, децу и сл., спасавајући их на тај начин животе од готово сигурне смрти.


3.4. По статусу

Гледано по статусу, међу погинулим/несталим има 1,192 цивила (62%), војника 718 или 37,3%, а милиционара 12 (0,7%).

Број страдалих цивила је изразито велики. Ако се употреби са цивилима страдалим на страни Хрвата (38%), односно са бројем страдалих цивила Срба са Ветринасовим списком из пијевог ратног и поратног периода (36%), тaj протека страдалих цивила у "Олују" и постоји је изузетно велики. Голики број страдалих цивила указује и на сам карактер акције "Олуја" као најслаженије показује да је акција "Олуја" изведена по систему "српске земље", и све у њу да се у потпуности Крајина етнички очисти од свега што је српско.

Број страдалих војника (37,3%), сам по себи и није велики. Међутим, по Ветринасовим истрживањима, најмање војника је страдало у борби с пушиком у ручи, а значајнији број уби је на конзербавању, односно предаје.

Убијање ратних заробљеника је такође кривично дело ратних злочина против ратних заробљеника, или рајеника.

24 Укупан број погинулих и несталих из овог Денуцног извештаја у односу на Извештај из 2003. године је смањен за 12 лица. Иначе се спаса из Извештаја из 2003. године "смичкот" је 22 лица (вени су профани живи, неки су се волили под различитим имецима а за неке узрок смрти се није могао подвести под Ветринасов критеријум из тачке 3.1 у истом периоду на списак је стављено 10 лица њих које је утврђено да су страдале или нестали "Олуј" и постоју.

25 У автогрантрања избеглицких колонова 7. августа 1995. године код Брињковци, између Петровица и Књуч, од стране хрватских авиона, погинуло је десет лица, међу којима петорога деца. Та избеглицка колона кренула је из сјеверног Далмације и Ликов у град Трнаву у Републику Српску. Избеглицка колона са Кордун и Баније кретала се преко Уни и на месту између Двора и Њугоша прешла у Републику Српску. Један део колоне код места Свода такође су грантирани хрватски авиони, а тој приликом је погинуло већи део лица и рајено најмање 15.

26 Списак цивила који су утожнице нације у камповима UNCR-а у Кинину (1.260) и Војнику (32), превезени су 16. септембра 1995. године у СРЈ.
### Табела 1. Подаци о умрлих код Црноубоде у "Олују" и Јосипуљу по региону и времену несвештаве/богатије

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>И</td>
<td>Н</td>
<td>И</td>
<td>Н</td>
<td>И</td>
<td>Н</td>
<td>И</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Баняц</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Источна Славонија</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Коруш</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Линка</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сремска Далмација</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Хрватска**</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Бок***</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** Укупно:</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>1.253</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Табела 2. Подаци о умрлих код Црноубоде у "Олују" и Јосипуљу по статусу и јошу

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Регион</th>
<th>Статус</th>
<th>Пол</th>
<th>Укупно</th>
<th>Укупно</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Цивил</td>
<td>Војник</td>
<td>Милитари</td>
<td>Остали</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>И</td>
<td>Н</td>
<td>И</td>
<td>Н</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Баняц</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Источна Славонија</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Коруш</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Линка</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сремска Далмација</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Хрватска*</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Укупно:</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Табела 3. Подаци Главног штаба СВК од јуна 1993. године**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Регија</th>
<th>Број становника</th>
<th>Национални састав</th>
<th>Погинули/нестали</th>
<th>Индекс</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Срби</td>
<td>Хрвати</td>
<td>Остали</td>
<td>Погинули/нестали</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Баняц</td>
<td>82,406</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Коруш</td>
<td>51,000</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Линка</td>
<td>48,389</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сремска Далмација</td>
<td>87,000</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Укупно</td>
<td>268,795</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Табела 4. Подаци о умрлих код Црноубоде у "Олују" и Јосипуљу по времену несвештаве/богатије у јошку 1993. године

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Вријеме</th>
<th>Погинули/нестали</th>
<th>Индекс</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Укупно 1995. године</td>
<td>1,868</td>
<td>97,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Август 1995. године</td>
<td>1,764</td>
<td>91,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Септембар 1995. године</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Октобар 1995. године</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Новембар 1995. године</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Декембар 1995. године</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0,3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* обухваћен борачи из нових усташких већа
** подаци о несвештави код јошака са ХВ и ХВО у граничном јошку у Крчлију погибили су на борбеном даним
*** подаци о несвештави код јошака код Главног штаба СВК
Таблица 5. Подвиги и пећима Срба у "Олују" и доследујући до садарских

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Доб</th>
<th>Банија</th>
<th>Источна Славонија</th>
<th>Кордун</th>
<th>Лика</th>
<th>Северна Диминија</th>
<th>Хрватска</th>
<th>БИХ</th>
<th>Укупно</th>
<th>Индекс</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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ANNEX 63

Recommendations for the NGO “Veritas” by the UN Liaison Office Belgrade, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the ICTY Deputy Prosecutor
UNited NATIONS

NATIONS UNIES

liaison office belgrade

26 December 1999

Recommendation for
The non-governmental organization “veritas”

Veritas is a non-governmental organization which gathers refugees from Kosovo and Croatia, who have found temporary refuge in the FRY and in the Republica Srpska.

On the basis of direct insight into the work of Veritas and following its activities, we have an impression that it is a serious organization which can provide an contribution into the findings of the true developments in Kosovo during the period of 1990-1998, highlighting violations of the international humanitarian law and establishing the destiny of missing persons.

We are acquainted with Veritas’ projects called “Movers on Risk” and “Witnesses for the Hope.” These projects are realistic and their implementation would contribute to solving one of the most serious humanitarian issues in the area of former Yugoslavia, to which they deserve every support.

Unquestionably, we are convinced to promote the projects of Veritas for the time being, but we are equally recommend them.

Head

Igor Knehtevski

http://www.veritas.org.rs/preporuke/Preporuka1.jpg

5/14/2009
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

Belgrade, 28th December 2000

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

According to the observations of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, VERITAS can be considered as an efficient organisation which contributes to gathering of information about the fate of persons caught up in war.

The ICRC thus specifically collaborates with VERITAS within the frame of the project "Missing in War".

Expressing its appreciation for the effort the organisation has made, the ICRC would like to recommend VERITAS to be supported in its activities.

Yours sincerely,

Deputy Head of Delegation
for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

http://www.veritas.org.rs/preporake/Preporuka2.jpg

5/14/2009
2 March 2000

To whom it may concern

LETTER OF ENDORSEMENT
CONCERNING
CENTRE FOR COLLECTING DOCUMENTS AND INFORMATION
"VERITAS",
Belgrade, Dčanska (M. Pijade) N/4

The Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia hereby confirms its positive knowledge about and successful cooperation since 1994 with the non-governmental organisation known as "Veritas" (Centre for collecting documents and information), whose members are refugees from the Republic of Croatia (in the areas of the former "Spska Krajina"), who are temporarily sheltered in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Centre “Veritas”, led by Mr. Savo Štrbac, has assisted and still assists the work of the Office of the Prosecutor in a professional, serious and responsible manner by collecting information about certain events which occurred during the period 1990-1995 in Croatia. In addition, "Veritas" identifies and provides access by the Office of the Prosecutor to the victims and witnesses of violations of the International Humanitarian Law which fall within the mandate of this Tribunal.

The Office of the Prosecutor is familiar with the general directions of activity of Centre “Veritas” aimed at the two main issues - Missing in War and Witnesses for The Hague - which, if properly funded and successfully managed, could advance considerably some important investigations conducted by the Office of the Prosecutor. Therefore, the Prosecutor considers every possible support to Centre “Veritas” as very important contribution to the work of this Tribunal.

Yours faithfully,

Graham T. Blessing
Deputy Prosecutor

http://www.veritas.org.rs/preporuke/Preporuka3.jpg
ANNEX  64

ICTY, Gotovina et al. Case, IT-060-90, 
Reynaud Theunens, Expert Report
“Croatian Armed Forces and Operation Storm”
dated 18 December 2007, Excerpts
THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL
FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Case No. IT-06-99-PT

IN THE TRIAL CHAMBER

Before: 

Judge Alphons Orie, Presiding
Judge Christine Van Den Wyngaert
Judge Bakone Justice Moloto

Registrar: 

Mr. Hans Holthuis

Date Filed: 

18 December 2007

THE PROSECUTOR

v.

ANTE GOTOVINA
IVAN ČERMAK
MLADEN MARKAČ

PUBLIC

PROSECUTION SUBMISSION OF EXPERT REPORT
PURSUANT TO RULE 94 bis

The Office of the Prosecutor:

Mr. Alan Tieger
Mr. Stefan Waeber

Counsel for the Accused:

Mr. Luka S. Mišetić, Mr. Gregory Kohoe and Mr. Payam Akhavan for Ante Gotovina
Mr. Steven Kay and Mr. Andrew Cayley for Ivan Čermak
Mr. Goran Mikušić and Mr. Tomislav Z. Kuzmanović for Mladen Markač
THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL
FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Case No. IT-06-90-PT

THE PROSECUTOR

v.

ANTE GOTOVINA
IVAN ČERMÁK
MLADEN MARKAČ

PROSECUTION SUBMISSION OF EXPERT REPORT
PURSUANT TO RULE 94 bis

Pursuant to Rule 94 bis of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence, the Prosecution hereby submits the expert report of Reynaud Theunens.

Respectfully submitted,

[Signature]
Alan Tegor
Senior Trial Attorney

Dated this 18th day of December 2007
At the Hague
The Netherlands
Report for Case IT- 06 - 90

Croatian Armed Forces and Operation STORM

Table of contents

Reynaud THE UNENS
Prosecution Expert Witness
Case IT- 06- 90
December 2007
for a cessation of hostilities and the separation of the forces, which becomes known as the “Zagreb Agreement”\textsuperscript{101} GOTOVINA in his book “Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO”, which he writes and publishes in 1996 with the authorisation of the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Croatia, Gojko ŠUŠAK, and which is to be used for educational purposes in the HV\textsuperscript{102}, notes that “the developments inside the UN protected areas in Croatia, such as the continuation of Serbian persecution and terror against the remaining Croats, their activities aimed at applying their policy of aggressive expansionism, and the concrete efforts for an all-Serbian unification were directly opposite to the said (= Zagreb) Agreement and to the efforts by the international community.”\textsuperscript{103}

(d) On 01 Jul 94, the Association of Displaced Persons of Croatia sets up barricades on all UNPROFOR check points towards the UNPAs, to attract attention to their situation and put pressure on UNPROFOR.\textsuperscript{104}

(2) Military aspects

(a) Development of the HV

i. The period following the deployment of UNPROFOR and the start of the implementation of the VANCE Plan, is seized by the Croatian political and military leadership to reorganise, and further develop and train the HV, in order to enable it to “liberate the occupied areas, should the international factors fail to resolve the matters in a way they had promised by signing the Sarajevo agreement, and in accordance with the requests presented by the Croatian

\textsuperscript{101} ERN BCS 0294-8948-0294-9106; ERN Eng ET 0294-8948-0294-9106, Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO, Ante GOTOVINA, Apr 96, at ERN Eng 0294-8956-0294-8967-ET/Translation, Part ONE Political and military Activities Preceding the Offensive Battles and Operations, Apr 96

\textsuperscript{102} ERN BCS 0294-8948-0294-9106; ERN Eng ET 0294-8948-0294-9106, Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO, Ante GOTOVINA, Apr 96, at ERN Eng 0294-8951-0294-8951, Authorisation, Gojko ŠUŠAK, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Croatia, Apr 96

\textsuperscript{103} ERN BCS 0294 8948 0294 9106; ERN Eng ET 0294 8948 0294 9106, Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO, Ante GOTOVINA, Apr 96, at ERN Eng 0294-8956-0294-8967-ET/Translation, Part ONE Political and military Activities Preceding the Offensive Battles and Operations, at Eng page 3

\textsuperscript{104} ERN BCS 0294-8948-0294-9106; ERN Eng ET 0294-8948-0294-9106, Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO, Ante GOTOVINA, Apr 96, at ERN Eng 0294-8956-0294-8967-ET/Translation, Part ONE Political and military Activities Preceding the Offensive Battles and Operations, at Eng page 3
At the time, a conclusion was reached that more intensive efforts were needed to have the HV even more efficiently organised and acquiring such organisational forms and shapes which would enable it to liberate the occupied areas, should these and such international factors fail to resolve the matters in a way they had promised by signing the Sarajevo Ceasefire Agreement, and in accordance with the requests presented by the Croatian Government.\textsuperscript{106}

ii. Furthermore, "during 1992, and in 1993 in particular, training courses for the Staff commanding officers and non-commissioned officers were intensified at all levels in an attempt to create a valid basis for further studies of the entire military system in order to get prepared for the forthcoming events and operations that were before us and which eventually did take place".\textsuperscript{107}

iii. The HV Main Staff "Operations Plan - Taskings relating to improvement and reinforcement of HV in August and September 1993 - ", dated Aug 93 and signed by the Minister of Defence of Croatia, Gojko ŠUŠAK, and the Chief of the Main Staff of the Croatian Armed Forces, General Janko BOBETKO, is one example of the efforts that are undertaken at the level of the MORH and the Main Staff to further develop and equip the HV.\textsuperscript{108} The "Operation plan" sets out eleven "prioritised basic tasks for the MORH GSHV". These priority tasks are used in the "Operation plan" as guidelines for detailed checklists with additional instructions and deadlines.

1. Further upgrading of Guards Brigades in terms of providing additional personnel and MTS /equipment and materiel/, and raising the level of combat readiness
2. Analysis of HV mobility and overall improvement of operational capacity and mobility

\textsuperscript{105} ERN BCS 0047-7169-0047-7181; ERN Eng ET 0047-7169-0047-7181, OLUJA Volume II, Hrvatska Vojna Glasila, 01 Nov 95
\textsuperscript{106} ERN BCS 0047-7169-0047-7181; ERN Eng ET 0047-7169-0047-7181, OLUJA Volume II, Hrvatska Vojna Glasila, 01 Nov 95
\textsuperscript{107} ERN BCS 0047-7169-0047-7181; ERN Eng ET 0047-7169-0047-7181, OLUJA Volume II, Hrvatska Vojna Glasila, 01 Nov 95
\textsuperscript{108} ERN BCS 0156-0470-0156-0480; ERN Eng 0307-0878-0307-0899. Operations Plan - Taskings relating to improvement and reinforcement of HV in Aug and Sep 93 - ", Gojko ŠUŠAK , Minister of Defence of the Republic of Croatia; General Janko BOBETKO, Chief of the Main Staff of the Croatian Armed Forces, Aug 93
3. Modernisation of the HV, and replenishment with modernised MTS
4. Adoption of the HV education system
5. Finalising the establishment and staffing of MORH and GSHV Sections and Administrations
6. Analysis of recruitment level and mobilisation of conscripts required by the HV
7. Further development and training of commands at all levels in order to enhance their task performance ability
8. Improvement of the anti-armour combat system of HV, NSHV /Croatian Army Education Centre/ and HVU /Croatian Military Academy/ units
9. Analysis of the present condition, capabilities and role of the HV Medical Corps, and definition of main tasks
10. Review of the present condition and further upgrading of the HV engineering support system
11. Meetings with ZP /Military District/ commanders and Guards Brigade commanders under separate plans

iv. The US “Military Professional Resources Incorporated (MPRI)” private military company, through the “Democracy Transition Assistance Programme (DTAP)” is engaged by the MORH for “preparing and carrying out changes to the system of military education and training in the HV”, and “to recommend adequate improvements in the organisation and management of the Staff”.109

v. The introduction of the “AirLand Battle” doctrine in the HV imposes changes in the organisational structure of the armed forces, whereby larger formations are replaced by more flexible ones. At the same time, new weapon systems (“multiple barrel rocket launchers; artillery; guided anti tank rockets of the 2nd and 3rd generation”), as well as Command Control and Communication systems are introduced.111

vi. Figures released to the public in 1995 show that the HV has a

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109 ERN BCS 0156-0470-0156-0480; ERN Eng 0307-0878-0307-0899, Operations Plan - Taskings relating to improvement and reinforcement of HV in Aug and Sep 93, -", Gojko SUŠAK, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Croatia; General Janko BOBETKO, Chief of the Main Staff of the Croatian Armed Forces, Aug 93
110 ERN BCS 0354-5517-0354-5518; ERN Eng 0354-5517-0354-5518-EDT/Draft Translation, Offering assistance to the MPI-DTAP team in the performance of contracted tasks, Nr 1080-01-94-220, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 30 Dec 94
111 ERN BCS 0060-5872-0060-5897; ERN Eng ET 0060-5872-0060-5897, OLUJA Volume I, Hrvatska Vojna Glasila, 01 Nov 95 at Eng Page 23
Croatia".\textsuperscript{116}

iii. Medak pocket (Sep 93)

- On 09 Sep 93, after several days of serious incidents in the UNPAs and the "Pink zones", shelling intensifies along the confrontation line. HV enter the "Pink zone" and seize three Serb-majority villages in the area of Medak\textsuperscript{117}, which they subsequently destroy, according to UN sources.\textsuperscript{118}

- The UN reports an intensification of the hostilities on 10 and 11 Sep 93, whereby Croatian military aircraft bomb SVK positions, and the SVK fires rockets at Croatian population centres.\textsuperscript{119} On 15 Sep 93, the parties agree to a cease fire, following mediation by the UN Special Representative.\textsuperscript{120}

- The UNSG in his report pursuant to UNSCR 871, Nr S/26828 dated 01 Dec 93, states that the Croatian Armed Forces commit "atrocities" in Medak.\textsuperscript{121}

iv. According to a HV brochure on Operation "STORM (OLUJA)", published in Nov 95, the operations in Miljevec; Maslenica; and Medak are of tactical nature and intended to verify the HV’s offensive capabilities.\textsuperscript{122}

Some less important operations from that period, such as Maslenica, Miljevac Heights, Medak Pocket, liberation of South Dalmatia and liberation of Konavle, after the JNA pulled out, liberation of Prevlaka, driving out the East Herzegovina Chetniks, have been renowned. However, all these operations

\textsuperscript{116} ERN Eng 0614-3207-0614-3215, Report of the Secretary General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 813 (93), 15 May 93, at Para 3
\textsuperscript{117} ERN Eng 0614-8371-0614-8376, Further Report by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 743 (92), S/26470, 20 Sep 93, Para 9; ERN Eng 0322-2336-0322-2672, Chronologie van het Bosnisch Conflict, NIOD, 2002 at Eng page 0322-2471
\textsuperscript{118} ERN Eng 0614-8345-8366, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Resolution 871 (93), 16 Mar 94, at Para
\textsuperscript{119} ERN ERN Eng 0614-8371-0614-8376, Further Report by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 743 (92), S/26470, 20 Sep 93, Para 9
\textsuperscript{120} ERC ERC Eng 0614-8371-0614-8376, Further Report by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 743 (92), S/26470, 20 Sep 93, Para 9
\textsuperscript{121} ERC ERC Eng 0614-8367-0614-8370, Report by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 871 (93), S/26828, 01 Dec 93, Para 14
\textsuperscript{122} ERC ERC Eng 0047-7169-0047-7181; ERC ERC Eng ET 0047-7169-0047-7181, OLUJA Volume II, Hrvatska Vojna Glasila, 01 Nov 95
were merely tactical or operative ones at best, whereas the strategic interests were realised much later. These activities and operations served only to test the offensive capabilities of the Croatian Army; the conclusion was that a solid preparatory work, an intensive preparation might end with the creation of units capable of performing any such tasks.\(^\text{123}\)

(c) Situation in the Split MD in 1994

i. The Split MD units during the 1994 time period are mobilised for 50\%.\(^\text{124}\) According to GOTOVINA, "That number of people was deployed in the area of responsibility from Mt. Velebit to Mt. Dinara, without any heavy weapons which were under UNMO control 10 and 20 km behind the line and with the basic mission to ensure the stability of the line of separation (which at that time was a front line) and repel any possible sudden attack by the enemy on any part of the front-line. That mission was of great responsibility, but there was no possibility of actively engaging against the enemy, and there was even no possibility of a visual contact. (That is a kind of a situation that could have a quite a stultifying effect)."\(^\text{125}\)

ii. GOTOVINA also mentions that the units of the Split MD not later than summer 1994 conduct staff exercises that are focussed on the "liberation of the territory of Northern Dalmatia... which also includes the town of Knin itself".

In the beginning and towards the end of the summer of 1994 in all subordinate units, several staff exercises were carried out with a theme of offensive combat operations with the objective of liberating the territory of northern Dalmatia which was under rebel Serbs' control, and which also included the town of Knin itself.\(^\text{126}\)

\(^{123}\) ERN BCS 0047-7169-0047-7181; ERN Eng ET 0047-7169-0047-7181, *OLUJA Volume II*, Hrvatska Vojna Glasila, 01 Nov 95


(2) On 28 Mar 95, the Chamber of Deputies of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia adopts a series of conclusions with regard to the extension of the presence of UN peacekeepers on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. According to these conclusions, the Republic of Croatia is willing to accept a new international force, with a new mandate.\textsuperscript{149}

(3) The UNSC on 31 Mar 95 adopts UNSCR 981, establishing the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO), replacing UNPROFOR.\textsuperscript{150} The UNCRO mandate covers the following six aspects:

(a) Performing the functions envisaged in the Cease-Fire Agreement of 29 Mar 1994 between the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities;

(b) Facilitating the implementation of the Economic Agreement of 02 Dec 94;

(c) Facilitating the implementation of all relevant UNSCR;

(d) Assisting in controlling, by monitoring and reporting, the crossing of military personnel, equipment, supplies and weapons, over the international borders between Croatia and BiH, and Croatia and the FRY at the border crossings for which UNCRO is responsible;

(e) Facilitating the delivery of international humanitarian assistance to BiH through the territory of Croatia;

(f) Monitoring the demilitarisation of the Prevlaka peninsula in accordance with resolution 779 (1992).\textsuperscript{151}

b. Project "PAX"

(1) Background

(a) In Nov 94, Brigadier Ivan TOLJ, Head of the Political Administration at the MORH, issues an "Instruction on Organisation and Operation of Groups for Special Warfare" to the Assistant Commanders for

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\textsuperscript{149} ERN BCS 0088-4344-0088-4360; ERN Eng 0096-5071-0096-115, \textit{Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia}, 05 Apr 95, at Eng pages 0096-5072-0096-5074

\textsuperscript{150} ERN Eng 0322-2336-0322-2572, \textit{Chronologie van het Bosnisch Conflict}, NIOD, 2002 at Eng page 0322-2583

\textsuperscript{151} ERN Eng 0424-7568-0424-7571, \textit{United Nations Security Council Resolution 981, 31 Mar 95}
Political Affairs in the MDs. TOLJ's instruction announces the establishment of a group for "special forms of warfare" (i.e. propaganda) within the Department for Political Affairs of the MD Commands. Already prior to Nov 94, a "Department for Special Operations", which planned and carried out "special war operations" existed within the Political Administration at the MORH. Operation "PRSTEN", which consisted of the use of local radio stations in order to, among other things, influence the population in the Serb-controlled parts in Croatia ("creating disorientation; weakening will, morale and motivation in the enemy Army and among the population") is one example of an operation conducted by the "Department for Special Operations" in 1994.

**Goals:**
1. Systematic and thought-out promotion of the Croatian state policy positions;
2. unmasking the methods of enemy misinforming activity;
3. annulment and lessening of special enemy operations, especially their propaganda;
4. creating disorientation; weakening will, morale and motivation in the enemy Army and among the population;
5. causing technical and substantial disruptions in the enemy informative system;
6. strengthening combat readiness of the HV units.

(b) On 25 Jan 95, the Director of the Croatian Intelligence Service and the Chief of the Political Administration at the MORH meet with the Assistant Commanders for Political Affairs at the MDs, Air Force, and Navy to plan and coordinate "psychological, propaganda and information activities intended for the consumption by the Serbian population in temporarily occupied areas...". It is decided at the meeting that the Department for Special Warfare at the Political Administration of the MORH will be in charge of the aforementioned.

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152 ERN BCS 0609-1144-0609-1145; ERN Eng ET 0609-1144-0609-1145, *Instruction on organization and operation of Groups for Special Warfare*, Brigadier Ivan TOLJ, Head of the Political Administration at the MORH, 23 Nov 94
153 ERN BCS 0609-1242-0609-1247; ERN Eng ET 0609-1242-0609-124, *PRSTEN (Use of local radio stations in special war operations)*, Political Administration at the MORH, Apr 94
154 ERN BCS 0609-1242-0609-1247; ERN Eng ET 0609-1242-0609-124, *PRSTEN (Use of local radio stations in special war operations)*, Political Administration at the MORH, Apr 94
activities.  

(c) From at least 28 Jan to 06 Jun 95, the “PAX”-project Staff compiled bi-weekly reports on the activities that were conducted to implement the Project.  

(2) Purpose and methodology

(a) Project “PAX” is aimed at the “peaceful annexation of the temporarily seized areas of the Republic of Croatia”, through “psychological, propaganda and information activities intended for the consumption by the Serbian population in the protected areas of the Republic of Croatia”.  

(b) Project “PAX” is be implemented through the use of the local media (radio, TV, radio-amateurs, newspapers); the distribution of

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155 ERN BCS 0606-4078-0606-4082; ERN Eng ET 0606-4078-0606-4082, Project PAX, Igor MRDULJAŠ, Political Administration, Department for Special Warfare, 28 Jan 95
157 ERN BCS 0609-1069-0609-1064; ERN Eng ET 0609-1063-0609-1064, Report Nr 512-22-12/95-1614, Igor MRDULJAŠ, Political Administration, Department for Special Warfare, 05 Apr 95
158 ERN BCS 0606-4078-0606-4082; ERN Eng ET 0606-4078-0606-4082, Project PAX, Igor MRDULJAŠ, Political Administration, Department for Special Warfare, 28 Jan 95
159 See for example the text from this document that does not mention the “PAX” project: ERN BCS 0609-1056-0609-1057; ERN Eng ET 0609-1056-0609-1057, Report Nr 512-22-12/95-2019, Brigadier Ivan TOLJIĆ, Head of the Political Administration at the MORH, 25 Apr 95
160 See for example ERN BCS 0604-5213-0604-5214; ERN Eng ET 0604-5213-0604-5214, Analysis of an inserted broadcast on 9th Apr in the Program Slikom na Sliku”, Senior Lieutenant Mario TOMASOVIĆ, Assistant Commander for Political Affairs, Split MD, 11 Apr 95
4. The Split MD and Operation OLUJA (STORM)

a. General aspects of Operation OLUJA (STORM)

(1) On 03 Aug at 2115 Hr, General Zvonimir ČERVENKO, Chief of the HV Main Staff, orders the Bjelovar; Gospić; Zagreb; and Split MD to be ready to attack on 04 Aug 95 at 0300 Hr to attack. The Osijek MD; the Southern Front; and the Navy are to be ready for defence. "Attack activities should start at 0500 Hr on 04 Aug in all directions, except for the focal direction of the Gospić MD attack, where the attack should start at 0600 Hr on 4 Aug 95". 353

(2) Operation "OLUJA (STORM)" is a strategic operation, with the participation of "large parts of the HV": 127.000 members of the HV, including MP and 2.500 members of MUP. The main army combat forces consist of five Guards Brigades; the 1 Croatian Guard; the 81st Guards Battalion; seventeen HV Brigades; as well as Home Guard brigades. 354 Operation OLUJA (STORM) is conducted from Friday 04 Aug to Thursday 10 Aug 95. During seven days, 10.400 m² (i.e. 18.4%) of the territory of the Republic of Croatia is "liberated". The total Croatian losses amounted to 0.12%. 356

(3) The planning for Operation "OLUJA (STORM)" at HV Main Staff level begins in Dec 94, with the "preparation and development of the integral operation of liberation of Banovina, Kordun, Lika and Dalmacija, with the simultaneous defence of Southern Dalmacija and Eastern Slavonia" under the codename "VJETAR (wind)". The MD Commands are directly involved in the planning process and submit operations orders for approval.
including the 72nd and 73rd MP Battalions, info the MD Commanders, including the Commander of the Split MD, to improve cooperation with the civilian Police and also to liaise with the highest ranking HV commander in their area of responsibility. Also after 18 Aug 95, the civilian Police in the Split MD zone of responsibility, continues criticise what they perceive as the lack of MP personnel, in particular at check points, and the inadequate cooperation between civilian Police and MP, in particular in light of the fact that most perpetrators of crimes are uniformed HV personnel.

2. Introduction

a. Operation OLUJA (STORM) and the HV-HVO Operations in Western BiH

(1) As indicated in the previous Section, Operation OLUJA (STORM) has to be seen in conjunction with the Split MD led HV-HVO offensive operations in Western BiH during winter 94 and spring/summer 95.

(a) In his State of the Nation address to the Croatian Parliament on 15 Jan 96, President Franjo Tuđman states that “the military operation in the south-western part of Bosnia and Herzegovina carried out in Jul and Aug 95 (called Summer 95) liberated Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc and severed the main route of communication connecting Knin with the other Serbs. In addition to relieving the pressure on the Bihac area, the military success set the stage for the liberation of the Knin area”.278

(b) GOTOVINA considers Operation OLUJA (STORM) as a “logical continuation of the combat operations in the general Livansko Polje and Dinara area”.279

(c) Damir KRSTIČEVIĆ, Commander of the 4th Guards Brigade, writes in his analysis of Operation STORM that for his unit and for the Split

278 ERN BCS 0052-3127-0052-3137; ERN Eng 0052-3127-0052-3137, Address of the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tuđman on the State of the Nation at the Joint Session of Both Chambers of Parliament, 15 Jan 96, Document downloaded from the president's Internet-homepage http://www.prcnjak.hr/adrn.htm on 15 Sep 97
279 ERN BCS 0352-7099-0352-7113; ERN Eng 0352-7099-0352-7113-EDT/Draft translation, Analysis of conducted operation OLUJA, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 16 Sep 95
MD, OLUJA 95 began as early as spring 94.\textsuperscript{280}

(d) A brochure, "OLUJA Volume II", published by the HV highlights the close connection between Operation "ZIMA 94"; "LJETO 95" and "STORM (OLUJA)", emphasising that "ZIMA 94" and "LJETO 95" create the necessary conditions for the conduct of "OLUJA (STORM)".\textsuperscript{281}

"Summer 95" Was Preceded by "Winter 94"

Operation "Summer 95" was preceded by operation "Winter 94", when in fact preparations began for the operations meant to finally liberate occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia. Capturing the Dinara ridge and creating the conditions, which enabled us to approach the very heart of the so-called Serbian Krajna in Knin through Livansko Polje, marked the beginning of creation and of unfolding of an operation aimed at definitive deliverance of occupied spaces. By creating an operative foundation in Western Bosnia, we tried to recreate the most favourable conditions in order to make use of a military solution in case the international political circles offered us right opportunity to act accordingly and to take the most favourable starting combat position. BiH offered conditions for carrying out such combat operations, since the war there was under way and no ceasefire agreements were signed there whatsoever. This made it possible for HV and HVO to conduct such combat operations. It is very important to point out that the operations "Winter 94" and "Summer 95" presented themselves as a precondition for creation of a realistic basis for carrying out the operation "Storm" in this southern part of a theatre; at the same time, something similar was done, though not through combat operations but rather through preparations for other types of actions in the areas that surrounded occupied territory. Furthermore, there had been certain plans for deliverance of the occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia as far back as 1992. These plans have been intensively upgraded and eventually brought to perfection during 1993 and 1994. All units of the Croatian Army have been training themselves and preparing themselves in accordance with these plans for the grand finale that ensued only in 1995. This makes us conclude that there was no discontinuation in the process of preparation and development of the Croatian Army.\textsuperscript{282}

\textsuperscript{280} ERN BCS 0279-9175-0279-9177; ERN Eng 0279-9175-0279-9177-EDT/Draft translation, Analysis of Assault Operation OLUJA, Staff Brigadier Damir KRSTIČEVIĆ, Commander of the 4th Guards Brigade, 14 Aug 95
\textsuperscript{281} ERN BCS 0047-7169-0047-7181; ERN Eng ET 0047-7169-0047-7181, OLUJA Volume II, Hrvatska Vojna Glasila, 01 Nov 95
\textsuperscript{282} ERN BCS 0047-7169-0047-7181; ERN Eng ET 0047-7169-0047-7181, OLUJA Volume II, Hrvatska Vojna Glasila, 01 Nov 95

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(j) Attachment 10: Croatian Air Force Combat Action Plan

(k) Attachment 11: Attack Order by the Commander of the OG NORTH

(2) Tasks of the Split MD

Order Nr 1080-01-95-75/2 instructs the Split MD units to carry out offensive operations in Northern Dalmatia and Western BiH, between the Velebit Mountains and Kupres, along three axes of attack, in order to break up the enemy forces; take control of key land and force the enemy to surrender or withdraw. The Split MD will encircle and take control of Knin.

The Split Military District shall prepare and carry out a joint offensive operation in the area of Northern Dalmatia and Western Bosnia, left: Velebit; right: Kupres, with the following task: in a vigorous attack with intense artillery and air support, on several axes, directed at the main military and political transportation features in the enemy's operational depth, break up the enemy forces on the forward defence line, and by decisively advancing, take control of the key land, transportation, military and political features, thus putting the enemy in a no-exit situation and forcing him to surrender or withdraw.

Group the main forces for the attack along the following axes:

- BOSANSKO GRAHOVO – KNIN
- JASENICE – MUŠKOVCI
- UNIŠKI DOCI – UNIŠTE – KJEVO

In this way encircle the enemy forces in the general Northern Dalmatia area, cut off the communications leading from Knin towards the north, encircle Knin and take control of the town. The operation is meant to create conditions for the reintegration of the liberated area into the constitutional system of the Republic of Croatia.

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375 ERN BCS 0342-2588-0342-2592-ET/Translation; ERN Eng 0342-2588-0342-2592-ET/Translation, Order to Attack from Commander of Operations Group NORTH, Staff Brigadier Rahim ADEMI, Commander of OG NORTH, 01 Aug 95
376 ERN BCS 0342-2520-0342-2538; ERN Eng 0342-2520-0342-2538-ET/Translation, Offensive Operation Order with Attachments KOŽIJAĆ 95, Order Nr 1080-01-95-75/2, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95; See also ERN BCS 0352-6974-0352-6977-ET/Translation, Draft translation, Analysis of attack operation KOŽIJAĆ-95, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 15 Aug 95 (Same document at ERN BCS 0361-1254-0361-1258)
(3) Operational concept of the Split MD for Operation “OLUJA (STORM)”.377

The main forces for the attack (4th and 7th Guards Brigade, and the 126 Home Guard Regiment) are grouped along the following three axes of attack:

- Bosansko Grahovo - Knin (4th and 7th Guards Brigade), with the objective of cutting off the Knin - Otrić road and taking control of Knin;

- Jasenice - Miškovci (2nd Battalion of the 9th Guards Brigade and 1st Croatian Guard), with the objective of cutting off the Obrovac – Gračac road;

- Uniški Doci - Unište - Kijevo (126th Home Guard Regiment): with the objective of taking control of the wider area of the Peruča valley and participating in capturing Kozjak.378

The Split MD operation is to be carried out in two-three phases, lasting three-four days.379 Knin is the main objective of the attack.380

(4) Command and Control

Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA commands and controls all Split MD (and subordinated) forces. For this purpose, two Forward Command Posts are established:

- Forward Command Post 1: SAJKOVIĆI IZM: units that participate

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377 ERN BCS 0342-2520-0342-2538; ERN Eng 0342-2520-0342-2538-ET/Translation, Offensive Operation Order with Attachments KOZJAK 95, Order Nr 1080-01-95-75/2, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95 (Same document at ERN BCS 0279-8576-0279-8591)

378 ERN BCS 0342-2520-0342-2538; ERN Eng 0342-2520-0342-2538-ET/Translation, Offensive Operation Order with Attachments KOZJAK 95, Order Nr 1080-01-95-75/2, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95; See also ERN BCS 0352-6974-0352-6977; ERN Eng 0352-6974-0352-6977-EDT/Draft translation, Analysis of attack operation KOZJAK 95, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 15 Aug 95 (Same document at ERN BCS 0361-1254-0361-1258); See also ERN BCS 0294-8948-0294-9106; ERN Eng ET 0294-8948-0294-9106. Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO, Ante GOTOVINA, Apr 96, at ERN Eng 0294-9003-0294-9016, Offensive STORM, 4-8 Aug 95, at Eng page 69

379 ERN BCS 0342-2520-0342-2538; ERN Eng 0342-2520-0342-2538-ET/Translation, Offensive Operation Order with Attachments KOZJAK 95, Order Nr 1080-01-95-75/2, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95 (Same document at ERN BCS 0279-8614-0279-8617)

380 ERN BCS 0352-7099-0352-7113; ERN Eng 0352-7099-0352-7113-EDT/Draft translation, Analysis of conducted operation OLUJA, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 16 Sep 95
directly in the attack on Knin (main forces of the attack: - Guards units with other units): OG NORTH and OG SINJ

- Forward Command Post 2: ZADAR IZM: all OG ZADAR and OG ŠIBENIK units

The Split MD subordinate Commands are to send regular daily reports every six hours, at 0600 Hr, 1200 Hr, 1800 Hr and 24 Hr to the Split MD Command.

(5) Structure of the Split MD forces

The manpower of the Split MD for Operation OLUJA (STORM) amounts to (more than) 30,000 including 10,000 newly mobilised. More precise figures can be found in the document “List of the Split MD Troops for the Operation STORM” according to which the Split MD has 32,884 men in operational units. The “List of the Split MD Troops for the Operation STORM” also includes units that have been resubordinated to the Split MD, like for example the 7th Guards Brigade. On 01 Jul 95, the Split MD has strength of 23,647. The following Split MD units participate in Operation “STORM (OLUJA)”:

(a) Guards Units

i. 4th Guards Brigade (Split), commanded by Staff Brigadier Damir

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381 ERN BCS 0342-2520-0342-2538; ERN Eng 0342-2520-0342-2538-ET/Translation, Offensive Operation Order with Attachments KOZIJA 95, Order Nr 1080-01-95-752, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95; See also ERN BCS 0352-7099-0352-7113; ERN Eng 0352-7099-0352-7113-EDT/Draft translation, Analysis of conducted operation OLUJA, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 16 Sep 95

382 ERN BCS 0342-2520-0342-2538; ERN Eng 0342-2520-0342-2538-ET/Translation, Offensive Operation Order with Attachments KOZIJA 95, Order Nr 1080-01-95-752, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95; See also ERN 0279-9612-0279-9677; ERN Eng ET 0279-9612-0279-9677, Supplement to the Order Class: SP 895-01/01, Reference Nr 1080-2, 95-40 dated 03 Aug 95, Colonel Ivan VUKIC, Commander of OG ŠIBENIK, 03 Aug 95, at pages 25-26 of 66

383 ERN BCS 0352-7099-0352-7113; ERN Eng 0352-7099-0352-7113-EDT/Draft translation, Analysis of conducted operation OLUJA, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 16 Sep 95; See also ERN BCS 0294-8948-0294-9106; ERN Eng ET 0294-8948-0294-9106, Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO, Ante GOTOVINA, Apr 96, at ERN Eng 0294-9005-0294-9016, Offensive STORM 4 - 8 Aug 1995 (BCS page 71)

384 ERN BCS 0609-8395-0609-8396; ERN Eng ET 0609-8395-0609-8396, List of the Split MD Troops for the Operation STORM, undated

385 ERN BCS 0609-8702-0609-8703; ERN Eng ET 0609-8702-0609-8703, Table with strength of Split MD units, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD

386 This overview includes only the principal combat units

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KRSTIĆEVIC\(^{387}\),

ii. 7\(^{th}\) Guards Brigade, commanded by (Staff Brigadier Ivan KORADE\(^{388}\) (1,668 men)\(^{389}\);

iii. 2\(^{nd}\) Guards Battalion of the 9\(^{th}\) Guards Brigade (Gospić), commanded by Major Ivica ARBANAS\(^{390}\);

iv. 81\(^{st}\) Guards Battalion, commanded by Brigadier Renato ROMIĆ\(^{391}\);

v. 1\(^{st}\) Croatian Guards (Zagreb), commanded by Staff Brigadier Miljenko FILIPOVIĆ\(^{392}\);

(b) Reserve HV brigades

i. 112\(^{th}\) Brigade (Zadar)\(^{393}\), Acting Commander: Major Ivan IVKOVIĆ\(^{394}\);

ii. 113\(^{th}\) Infantry Brigade (Šibenik)\(^{395}\), commanded by Colonel

\(^{387}\) ERN BCS 0279-4091-0279-4091; ERN Eng ET 0279-4091-0279-4091, Order Nr 1114-01-03-95-2, Staff Brigadier Damir KRSTIĆEVIC, Commander of the 4\(^{th}\) Guards Brigade, 10 Apr 95; ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95; ERN BCS 0279-8778-0279-8792; ERN Eng 0279-8778-0279-8792; ET/Translation, 4\(^{th}\) Guards Brigade Commander's Order for Attack, Nr 1114-01-04-95-76, Staff Brigadier Damir KRSTIĆEVIC, Commander of the 4\(^{th}\) Guards Brigade, 03 Aug 95


\(^{389}\) ERN BCS 0279-9146-0279-9148; ERN Eng ET 0279-9146-0279-9148, Weekly Operations Report from 04.08.95 to 11.08.95, Nr 3112-01-03-T-95-62, Staff Brigadier Ivan KORADE, Commander of the 7\(^{th}\) Guards Brigade, 11 Aug 95

\(^{390}\) ERN BCS 0221-7930-0211-7930; ERN Eng ET 0221-7930-0211-7930; Changing Order, Class 8/95-01/01, ref. no. 1080-01-95-70, dated 30 Apr 1995, Nr 1080-01-94-73, Major General Ante MOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 May 95; ERN BCS 0466-5246-0466-5251; ERN Eng 0466-5246-0466-5251-EDT/Draft translation, Nr 3178-9-31-95-29, Major Ivica ARBANAS, Commander of the 2\(^{nd}\) Battalion of the 9\(^{th}\) Guards Brigade, 11 Aug 95

\(^{391}\) ERN BCS 0361-0888-0361-0891; ERN Eng 0361-0888-0361-0891-EDT/Draft translation, Order Nr 512-06-05/01-95-297, General Zvonimir ČERVENKO, Chief of the HV Main Staff, 20 Jul 95

\(^{392}\) ERN BCS 0363-0569-0363-0570; ERN Eng 0363-0569-0363-0570-EDT/Draft translation, Report on the use of the ATG of the 72\(^{nd}\) MP Battalion, Nr 2233-01/1-95-17, Major Mihailo BUDIMIR, Commander of the 72\(^{nd}\) MP Battalion, 14 Aug 95; ERN BCS 0357-6159-0357-6170; ERN Eng 0357-6159-0357-6170-EDT/Draft translation, Analysis of the Use of the Military Police of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia in Operation STORM, Report Nr 512-19-01-95-632, Major General Mato LAUŠIĆ, Chief of the MP Administration, 16 Sep 95

\(^{393}\) ERN BCS 0211-9075-0211-9075; ERN Eng L008-4133-L008-4144, Nr 1080-01-95-238, Mobilisation Report, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 28 Jul 95

\(^{394}\) ERN BCS 0104-6310-0104-6311; ERN Eng L002-2659-L002-2660, Order Nr 1080-01-95-1, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 17 Jan 95; ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95; ERN BCS 0609-2176-0609-2184; ERN Eng ET 0609-2176-0609-2184, Order for Offensive Operations of the 112\(^{th}\) Brigade for the day of 04.08.1995, Nr 2134-01-95-01, Major Ivan IVKOVIĆ, Acting Commander 112\(^{th}\) Brigade, 14 Aug 95

\(^{395}\) ERN BCS 0361-1476-0361-1507; ERN Eng 0361-1476-0361-1507-EDT/Draft translation, Report Nr 512-06-05/01-95-614, Army General Zvonimir ČERVENKO, Chief of the HV Main Staff, 30 Oct 95
iii. 114th Brigade, commanded by Major Marko SKEJO\(^{397}\);

(c) Home Guard Regiments

i. 6th Home Guard Regiment (Split)\(^{398}\), commanded by Colonel Mirko KLARIC\(^{399}\);

ii. 7th Home Guard Regiment (Zadar)\(^{400}\) commanded by Colonel Danijel TELESMANIC\(^{401}\);

iii. 15th Home Guard Regiment (Šibenik)\(^{402}\), commanded by Selimir VUKŠIC\(^{403}\);

iv. 126th Home Guard Regiment (Šinj)\(^{404}\), commanded by Colonel

\(^{396}\) ERN BCS 0279-8421-0279-8421; ERN Eng 0279-8421-0279-8421-EDT/Draft translation, Report Nr 2135-05-95-122, Colonel Danijel KOTLAR, Commander of the 113th Brigade, 05 Apr 95; ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95; ERN BCS 0466-5274-0466-5275-ET/Translation; ERN Eng 0466-5274-0466-5275-ET/Translation, Order Nr 213501-95-149, Colonel Danijel KOTLAR, Commander of the 113th Brigade, 01 Aug 95.


\(^{399}\) ERN BCS 0279-8421-0279-8421; ERN Eng 0279-8421-0279-8421-EDT/Draft translation, Report Nr 2135-05-95-122, Colonel Danijel KOTLAR, Commander of the 113th Brigade, 05 Apr 95; ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95; ERN BCS 0609-2698-0609-2704; ERN Eng ET 0609-2698-0609-2704, Order to Attack, Nr 831-01-01-95-1158, Colonel Mirko KLARIC, Commander of the 6th Home Guard Regiment, 02 Aug 95; ERN BCS 0466-5807-0466-5808-ET/Translation; ERN Eng 0466-5807-0466-5808-ET/Translation, Sale of war booty (sale of cattle), Colonel Mirko KLARIC, Commander of the 6th Home Guard Regiment, 10 Aug 95.


\(^{403}\) ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95.

Ante KOTROMANOVIĆ⁴⁰⁵ (Ante PODRUG)⁴⁰⁶;

v. 134th Home Guard Regiment (Biograd)⁴⁰⁷, commanded by Major Josip ČERINA⁴⁰⁸;

vi. 142nd Home Guard Regiment (Drniš)⁴⁰⁹, acting Commander Captain Željko NAKIĆ⁴¹⁰;

(d) Artillery

i. 14th Artillery Battalion, commanded by Major Slavko VLAHOV⁴¹¹;

ii. 20th Artillery Battalion (Split)⁴¹², commanded by Captain Bruno MILIN⁴¹³;

iii. 204th Artillery and Rocket Brigade (Air Defence) (Šibenik)⁴¹⁴.

⁴⁰⁵ ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95
⁴⁰⁷ ERN BCS 0361-1476-0361-1507; ERN Eng 0361-1476-0361-1507-EDT/Draft translation, Report Nr 512-06-05/01-95-614, Army General Zvonimir ČERVENKO, Chief of the HV Main Staff, 30 Oct 95
⁴⁰⁸ ERN BCS 0279-8534-0279-8535; ERN Eng 0279-8534-0279-8535-EDT/Draft translation, Report on disciplinary measures implemented in VP 8286, Nr 8286-01-95-1, Major Josip ČERINA, Commander of the 134th Home Guard Regiment, 13 Jan 95; ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95; ERN BCS 0279-9127-0279-9128; ERN Eng ET 0279-9127-0279-9128, Weekly Operations report for the period from 04 Aug to 11 Aug 95, Nr 8286-01-95-503, Major Josip ČERINA, Commander of the 134th Home Guard Regiment, 11 Aug 95
⁴¹¹ ERN BCS 0279-8534-0279-8535; ERN Eng 0279-8534-0279-8535-EDT/Draft translation, Report on disciplinary measures implemented in VP 8286, Nr 8286-01-95-1, Major Josip ČERINA, Commander of the 134th Home Guard Regiment, 13 Jan 95; ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95; ERN BCS 0213-0439-0213-0440; ERN Eng L004-8859-L004-8861, Order on compliance with measures of military discipline, Order Nr 1108/01-95-15, Captain Željko NAKIĆ, Acting Commander 142th Home Guard Regiment, 10 Aug 95
⁴¹² ERN BCS 0279-9103-0279-9105; ERN Eng 0279-9103-0279-9105-EDT/Draft translation, Order Nr 1080-01-95-368, Order for Defence for the Artillery, Brigadier Marko RAJIĆ. Chief of Artillery of the Split MD, 10 Aug 95
⁴¹³ ERN BCS 0211-9075-0211-9075; ERN Eng L008-4133-L008-4144, Nr 1080-01-95-238, Mobilisation Report, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 28 Jul 95
⁴¹⁴ ERN BCS 0609-8495-0609-8495; ERN Eng ET 0609-8495 0609-8495, Report on Establishment of 20th Artillery Battalion, Nr 1080-01-95-45, Bruno MILIN, Commander of the 20th Artillery Battalion; 20 Jun 95; ERN BCS 0342-2548-0342-2551; ERN Eng 0342-2548-0342-2551-ET/Translation, Order to Attachement for Artillery, Nr 1080-01-95-75/2, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95
commanded by Brigadier Milan PERKOVIĆ\textsuperscript{415};

(e) Other units

i. 72\textsuperscript{nd} MP Battalion (Split), commanded by Major Mihael BUDIMIR\textsuperscript{416};

ii. 11\textsuperscript{th} anti tank artillery and rocket Battalion\textsuperscript{417}, commanded by Dragan BRKLJAČA\textsuperscript{418};

iii. 73\textsuperscript{rd} MP Battalion (Split), commanded by Major Željko MAGLOV\textsuperscript{419};

iv. 264 Reconnaissance and Sabotage Company, commanded by Lieutenant Antonio ROCA CIPAL\textsuperscript{420};

v. 306\textsuperscript{th} Logistics Base (Split), commanded by Major Ivan PAPIĆ\textsuperscript{421}

An overview of the equipment of the Split MD units can be found in the Split MD Daily Report Nr 1080-02-02-95-411 dated 26 Jul 95. According to the figures listed in this document, the Split MD has forty nine tanks (including three M-84); nineteen APCs; 165 mortars with a calibre of 120 mm; thirty five howitzers; thirty one canons; twenty seven multiple rocket launchers; etc.\textsuperscript{422} Similar figures are included in the section “Working Order of Materiel on 03.08.1995” of the Split MD Daily Operations

\textsuperscript{415} ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95; ERN BCS 0294-8948-0294-9106; ERN Eng ET 0294-8948-0294-9106, Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO, Ante GOTOVINA, Apr 96, at ERN Eng 0294-9099-0294-9106, List of Units and Commanders, at Eng page 3

\textsuperscript{416} ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95; ERN BCS 0363-0569-0363-0570; ERN Eng 0363-0569-0363-0570-EDT/Draft translation, Report on the use of the ATG of the 72\textsuperscript{nd} MP Battalion, Nr 2233-01/1-95-17, Major Mihael BUDIMIR, Commander of the 72\textsuperscript{nd} MP Battalion, 14 Aug 95

\textsuperscript{417} ERN BCS 0352-7099-0352-7113; ERN Eng 0352-7099-0352-7113-EDT/Draft translation, Analysis of conducted operation OLUJA, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 16 Sep 95

\textsuperscript{418} ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95

\textsuperscript{419} ERN BCS 0358-2416-0354-2426; ERN Eng ET 0358-2416-0354-2426, Minutes of the debriefing of Military Police Units, held in Split, on 11 Jul 95, Nr 6076-01-95-01, Major Željko MAGLOV, 25 Jul 95; ERN BCS 0279-9598-0279-9611; ERN Eng 0279-9598-0279-9611-ET/Translation, Monthly report on the work of the 75\textsuperscript{th} Battalion of the Military Police for the period of 25\textsuperscript{th} July to 25\textsuperscript{th} Aug 1993, Nr 6076-01-95-01, Major Željko MAGLOV, Commander of the 73\textsuperscript{th} MP Battalion, 31 Aug 95

\textsuperscript{420} ERN BCS 0211-8081-0211-8084; ERN Eng 0211-8081-0211-8084, Submission of Information on Commanding Officers and Chiefs of Staff of the units of the Split MD HV, Nr 1080-02-95-13, Major General Ante GOTOVINA, 11 Jul 95

\textsuperscript{421} ERN BCS 0279-8522-0279-8523; ERN Eng 0279-8522-0279-8523-EDT/Draft translation, Report, Nr 2230-21/1-95-2-103, Major Ivan PAPIĆ, 16 Jan 95

\textsuperscript{422} ERN BCS 0609-2854-0609-2856; ERN Eng ET 0609-2854-0609-2856, Daily Report delivered at 2000 Hr, Nr 1080-02-02-95-411, Colonel Bruno ZORICA, Split MD Command, 26 Jul 95
Section FOUR: Special Police operations in and adjacent to the zone of responsibility of Split MD during and after Operation OLUJA (STORM) (05 Aug - 15 Nov 95)

1. Summary

   a. This Section studies the role of Special Police Units (SJP) in and adjacent to the zone of responsibility of the Split MD during and after Operation “STORM (OLUJA)”. Following a detailed review of the main operations conducted by SJP, this section takes a closer look at the command, control and communications arrangements over SJP during and after Operation “STORM (OLUJA)”, including the coordination of operations between SJP and HV.

   b. On 29 Jul 95, General Zvonimir ČERVENKO, Chief of the HV Main Staff, issues the Order Nr 512-06-05/01-95-328 to the Commander of the “MUP Special Forces”, Colonel General Mladen MARKAČ, for the SJP to carry out an offensive operation from the area of Mount Velebit in order to seize control of the area of Mali Golić - Sveti Rok - Gračac, to cut the Gospić - Gračac road; seize control of the radio relay station at Čelevac; and link up with the forces of the Split MD. MARKAČ is to coordinate the preparation and the conduct of the offensive with the Command of the Split MD and the Command of the Gospić MD.

   c. During and after Operation “STORM (OLUJA)”, SJP receive their orders exclusively from Colonel General Mladen MARKAČ or his Commander of the Special Police Sector, Željko SAČIĆ. MARKAČ exercises command and control over the SJP from a “Joint Special Police Forces Staff HQ” Forward Command Post, first in Seline and then in Gračac. MARKAČ is subordinated to the Chief of the HV Main Staff and keeps the latter informed of SJP operations.

   d. There is a functioning command and control, and reporting (including communication) system between MARKAČ and the SJP. SJP inform MARKAČ at least once a day of the operations they have conducted, their combat deployment (including positions reached) and other significant events. The Special Police Sector informs the Chief of the HV Main Staff on a daily basis of the operations conducted by SJP and the positions they have reached. Prior to and during Operation “STORM (OLUJA)”, MARKAČ and the SJP
the time of the Order) in case of an HV attack.\textsuperscript{438}

ii. The "Order for Intelligence Service" to Order Nr 1080-01-95-75/2 provides additional information on the SVK positions and strength in the Split MD zone of attack, including the location of combat positions on the frontline, and of military headquarters, command posts and other military facilities in Knin. The Order for Intelligence instructs that, in accordance with the "Security Measures Plan" POW and refugees are to be sent to collection points, where they will be questioned and processed. POW and refugees will be further dealt with by the Split MD Intelligence Sector.\textsuperscript{439} The Order for Intelligence shows that the Split MD Command, including Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, has detailed information about the location and strength of the SVK in their zone of responsibility prior to Operation "STORM (OLUJA)".

iii. The "Intelligence Support Plan" establishes the intelligence collection tasks and priorities of the Split MD units, before, during and after combat operations.\textsuperscript{440} Among these priorities are enemy strength and positions; locations of command posts, communication centres and artillery units; etc.

(b) Artillery\textsuperscript{441}

i. Title 7 "Artillery Support" of Order Nr 1080-01-95-75/2 defines the mission and the structure of the Split MD artillery for Operation OLUJA (STORM). At the level of the Split MD Command, Artillery Groups (TS) and Artillery-Rocket Groups (TRS) will be established, whereby OG NORTH (in addition to its

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\textsuperscript{438} ERN BCS 0342-2520-0342-2538; ERN Eng 0342-2520-0342-2538-ET/Translation, Offensive Operation Order with Attachments KOZIAK 95, Order Nr 1080-01-95-75/2, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95

\textsuperscript{439} ERN BCS 0342-2539-0342-2543; ERN Eng 0342-2539-0342-2543-ET/Translation, Order for Intelligence Service, Nr 1080-01-95-75/2, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD

\textsuperscript{440} ERN BCS 0342-2544-0342-2547; ERN Eng 0342-2544-0342-2547-ET/Translation, Intelligence Support Plan, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD

\textsuperscript{441} This Annex supersedes the Order Nr 1080-01-95-75-4 dated 01 Aug 95: ERN BCS 0609-2991-0609-2994; ERN Eng ET 0609-2991-0609-2994, Order for Artillery/Rocket Support and Anti Armour combat, Nr 1080-01-95-75-4, Brigadier Marko RAJČIĆ, Chief of Artillery of the Split MD, 01 Aug 95. Order Nr 1080-01-95-75-4 states that Knin, Kistanje, Benkovac, Gračac and Drvar shall be subjected to direct artillery strikes
own units’ artillery assets) will be supported by two TRS (TRS-1 and TRS-2) and one TS (TS-3), with a total of four 203 mm howitzers; three 155 mm howitzers; four 152 mm howitzers; ten 130 mm guns; and four 122 mm Multiple Rockets Launchers.\textsuperscript{442} OG ŠIBENIK and OG ZADAR will be supported by one TS (TS-4 and TS-5) each (in addition to their own units’ artillery assets).\textsuperscript{443}

ii. The TRS and TS will ensure “artillery support to the main forces in the offensive operation through powerful strikes against the enemy’s front line, command posts, communications centres, artillery firing positions and by putting the towns of Drvar, Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac and Gračac under artillery fire...”. Title 7 does not indicate which specific targets in Drvar, Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac and Gračac the Split MD artillery is to engage.\textsuperscript{444}

iii. The “Attachment for Artillery” establishes the locations of firing positions; command posts and observation posts of the Split MD TS and TRS as well as their tasks. The shelling of the “towns of Drvar, Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac and Gračac” is confirmed as one of the task of the TRS (as well as other Split MD units’ artillery assets) in the final paragraph of the title “3. TRS tasks”:

3. TRS tasks
Engage in intensive artillery shelling to rout, neutralise and destroy the enemy’s combat disposition at the tactical and operational level.


Prevent the enemy from bringing in new forces from the directions of: Knin -

\textsuperscript{442} ERM BCS 0342-2520-0342-2538; ERM Eng 0342-2520-0342-2538-ET/Translation, Offensive Operation Order with Attachments, Order Nr 1080-01-95-75/2, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95; See also ERM BCS 0279-8625-0279-8627 (No Eng), Order for Attack-artillery units, 02 Aug 95

\textsuperscript{443} ERM BCS 0342-2548-0342-2551; ERM Eng 0342-2548-0342-2551-ET/Translation, Order to Attack Attachment for Artillery, Nr 1080-01-95-75/2, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95

\textsuperscript{444} ERM BCS 0342-2548-0342-2551; ERM Eng 0342-2548-0342-2551-ET/Translation, Order to Attack Attachment for Artillery, Nr 1080-01-95-75/2, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 02 Aug 95
President and the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Croatia. The Prime Minister and Minister of Defence (of the Republic of Croatia) will visit the Split MD zone of responsibility on 06 Aug 95. GOTOVINA orders that “The road and the town of Knin must be neat. All commanders must be in the fortress in Knin at 1000 Hr tomorrow.”

When the Commander of the 4th Guards Brigade informs those attending the meeting that there are no burned houses, but that there is an inflow of soldiers, GOTOVINA replies that the MP is responsible for the situation in Knin. Serbs are identified as “Chetniki”.

(5) Following the seizure of Knin, GOTOVINA on 05 Aug 95 orders the Assistant Commander for Political Affairs of the Split MD, Colonel Ivan ZELIĆ, and Colonel Ivan ĆEKO to transfer to Knin in order to oversee and support the establishment of civilian structures in the city.

For this reason Colonel Ivan ZELIĆ and, pursuant to an order of Lieutenant General Ante GOTOVINA, concerning performing the assignments relating to political activities, restoring the terrain /providing sanitation/ and providing support to setting up civil structures, and overseeing all other elements transferred on to Knin 05 August 1995 in order to carry out the assignments there.

(6) In his book “Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and the HVO”, GOTOVINA assess the importance of the early fall of Knin, noting “The liberation of Knin contributed to the weakening of enemy resistance, with

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526 ERO ECS 0155-8825-0155-8924; ERO ECS ET 0155-8825-0155-8924, Operational Diary, Brigadier General Rahim ADEMI, COS of the Split MD, 25 Jul -14 Sep 95, at Eng page 82
527 ERO ECS 0155-8825-0155-8924; ERO ECS ET 0155-8825-0155-8924, Operational Diary, Brigadier General Rahim ADEMI, COS of the Split MD, 25 Jul -14 Sep 95, at Eng page 85
528 ERO ECS 0155-8825-0155-8924; ERO ECS ET 0155-8825-0155-8924, Operational Diary, Brigadier General Rahim ADEMI, COS of the Split MD, 25 Jul -14 Sep 95, at Eng page 84
529 ERO ECS 0155-8825-0155-8924; ERO ECS ET 0155-8825-0155-8924, Operational Diary, Brigadier General Rahim ADEMI, COS of the Split MD, 25 Jul -14 Sep 95, at Eng page 84. See also Eng page 88; Eng page 92; Eng page 95; See also ERO ECS 0279-9073-0279-9075; ERO ECS ET 0279-9073-0279-9075-EDT/Draft translation, Report Nr 1108-01-95-2, Captain Željko NAKIĆ, 142nd Home Guard Regiment, 08 Aug 95; For the use of the term “Chetnik”: see also ERO ECS 0690-7891-0690-7892; ERO ECS ET 0690-7891-0690-7892, Order Nr 1108-01-95-3, Captain Željko NAKIĆ, Acting Commander of the 142nd Home Guard Regiment, 09 Aug 95
530 ERO ECS 0606-4252-0606-4256; ERO ECS ET 0606-4252-0606-4256, Problems and shortcomings that were perceived following the liberation of occupied areas, Information, Nr 1080-03-95-40, Petar SKORIĆ, Assistant Commander for Political Affairs OG SOUTH, 10 Aug 95
531 ERO ECS 0606-4252-0606-4256; ERO ECS ET 0606-4252-0606-4256, Problems and shortcomings that were perceived following the liberation of occupied areas, Information, Nr 1080-03-95-40, Petar SKORIĆ, Assistant Commander for Political Affairs OG SOUTH, 10 Aug 95
the result that fewer armed groups were willing to engage in combat.\textsuperscript{532} The early capture of Knin by Split MD forces has also an important effect on combat morale. The OG ZADAR Assistant Commander for Political Affairs writes “Because of the fall of Knin, the troops’ adrenalin is going through the roof. We need to take advantage of euphoria and motivation of all the soldiers.”\textsuperscript{533}

(7) In addition to the seizure of Knin, the 4\textsuperscript{th} Guards Brigade captures Golubić\textsuperscript{534} at 0850 Hr. The 2\textsuperscript{nd} battalion of the 9\textsuperscript{th} Guards Brigade takes over Muškovići.\textsuperscript{535} The 13\textsuperscript{4} Home Guard Regiment\textsuperscript{536} and the 7\textsuperscript{th} Home Guard Regiment\textsuperscript{537} enter Benkovac.\textsuperscript{538} At 1100 Hr, it is reported that Serbs are leaving Benkovac.\textsuperscript{539} The 7\textsuperscript{th} Home Guard Regiment also takes control of Škabrnja by 1700 Hr.\textsuperscript{540} The 12\textsuperscript{6} Home Guard Regiment enters Vrlika\textsuperscript{541} as does the 6\textsuperscript{th} Home Guard Regiment.\textsuperscript{542} The forces operating on

\textsuperscript{532} ERN BCS 0294-8948-0294-9106; ERN Eng ET 0294-8948-0294-9106, Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO, Ante GOTOVINA, Apr 96, at ERN Eng 0294-9005-0294-9016, Offensive STORM, 4-8 Aug 95, at Eng page 74
\textsuperscript{533} ERN BCS 0609-8058-0609-8059; ERN Eng ET 0609-8058-0609-8059, PD Report, Nr 10807-03-4, Major Ivica MATEŠIĆ, OZ ZADAR, uži Avg 95
\textsuperscript{534} See also ERN BCS 0354-2823-0354-2825; ERN Eng ET 0354-2823-0354-2825 ET/Translation, Submission of daily report at 1300 Hr, Nr 1080-01-03-95-34, Colonel Ivan ZELIĆ, Department for Political Affairs, Split MD Command, 05 Aug 95 (Same document at ERN BCS 0352-7476-0352-7477; ERN Eng 0352-7476-0352-7477-EDT/Draft translation)
\textsuperscript{535} ERN BCS 0604-5491-0604-5493; ERN Eng ET 0604-5491-0604-5493, Political Affairs Service Report, Nr 1080-03-95-481, Captain Mario TOMASOVIĆ, Deputy to the Assistant Commander for Political Affairs, 05 Aug 95
\textsuperscript{536} ERN BCS 0604-5491-0604-5493; ERN Eng ET 0604-5491-0604-5493, Political Affairs Service Report, Nr 1080-03-95-481, Captain Mario TOMASOVIĆ, Deputy to the Assistant Commander for Political Affairs, 05 Aug 95; See also ERN BCS 0609-7506-0609-7510, GS Report on carrying out a combat task, Nr 8286-01-95-75, Major Josip ĆERINA, Commander of the 13\textsuperscript{4} Home Guard Regiment, 23 Aug 95
\textsuperscript{537} ERN BCS 0279-9141-0279-9145; ERN Eng ET 0279-9141-0279-9145, Nr 8312-01-95-32, Weekly Report, Colonel Danijel TELESMANIĆ, Commander of the 7\textsuperscript{th} Home Guard Regiment, 11 Aug 95
\textsuperscript{538} See also ERN BCS 0155-8942-0155-8951, War Diary of the Command of the Split MD, Rahim ADEMI, COS of the Split MD, entry for 06 Aug 0800 Hr; See also ERN 0155-8925-0155-8941; ERN Eng ET 0155-8925-0155-8941, Operational Diary of the Split MD, Staff Brigadier Rahim ADEMI, COS of the Split MD, at Eng page 10; ERN BCS 0609-8060-0609-8061; ERN Eng ET 0609-8060-0609-8061, PD Service Report, Nr 10807-03-2, Captain Ashley MINAK, Assistant Commander for Political Affairs, OG ZADAR, 05 Aug 95
\textsuperscript{539} ERN 0155-8925-0155-8941; ERN Eng ET 0155-8925-0155-8941, Operational Diary of the Split MD, Staff Brigadier Rahim ADEMI, COS of the Split MD, at Eng page 10
\textsuperscript{540} ERN BCS 0779-0810-0779-8910; ERN Eng 0779-8910-0779-8910 ET/Translation, Report Nr 8312-01-95-05, Major Danijel TELESMANIĆ, 05 Aug 95 (Same document at ERN BCS 0279-8929-0279-8929)
\textsuperscript{541} ERN BCS 0349-3951-0349-3951; ERN Eng 0349-3951-0349-3951 ET/Translation, Report on advances in military and police units, Nr 511-12-01-VT-12716-95, Ivo CIPIĆ, POVRATAK Operations Staff, 05 Aug 95; See also ERN BCS 0155-9006-0155-9050; ERN Eng 0155-9006-0155-9050, War Diary of the Main Staff of the Croatian Army from 03 Aug 95 to 31 Oct 95 (03 - 11 Aug 95), Staff Brigadier Mate OBRADOVIĆ, Chief of the Department for War Planning and the Use of the Republic of Croatia Armed Forces at page 31
illustrate "how safe the Knin areas was", immediately after Split MD forces established control over the city.

How safe the Knin area was became obvious on 6th August when, on Day Three of the Operation, the Split ZP were able to organise a visit to Knin by the President of the Republic and the Commander of the Armed Forces, Dr Franjo Tuđman. 738

(2) Assessment by the MORH Intelligence Administration

GOTOVINA’s views on the significance of the capture of Knin at such an early stage of Operation “STORM (OLUJA)” are supported by the assessment of MORH Intelligence Administration for 05 Aug 95:

2) The “state” and “military” structure was completely deprived of its leadership by the liberation of Knin, which had a significant effect on the collapse of morale of the civilian population and military units. 739

b. Overall achievements by the Split MD during Operation OLUJA (STORM)

(1) During the first four days of Operation “OLUJA (STORM)”, Split MD units “liberated Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, Drniš and Vrlika”. 740

(2) Another important achievement during the early stages of Operation “STORM (OLUJA)”, according to GOTOVINA is “the destruction of the Serbian rebels’ 7th Krajina Corps. Its members joined the civilians in a panic-stricken retreat towards Bosnia. This was the end of a notorious corps which will never again be known as a military force”. 741

(3) In his book “Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO”, GOTOVINA also reaffirms the close connection between Operation “OLUJA (STORM)” and the previous Split MD-led HV-HVO operations in Western BiH:

738 ERN BCS 0294-8948-0294-9106; ERN Eng ET 0294-8948-0294-9106, Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO, Ante GOTOVINA, Apr 96, at ERN Eng 0294-9005-0294-9016, Offensive STORM, 4-8 Aug 95, at Eng page 76
739 FRN BCS 0463-3225-0463-3230; FRN Eng 0463-3225 0463-3230 EDT/Draft translation, Report Nr 512-06-06/1-95-1953, Intelligence Report for 05 Aug 95, Rear Admiral Davor DOMAZET Loško, Chief of the Intelligence Administration at the MORH, 05 Aug 95
740 ERN BCS 0294-8948-0294-9106; ERN Eng ET 0294-8948-0294-9106, Offensive Battles and Operations of the HV and HVO, Ante GOTOVINA, Apr 96, at ERN Eng 0294-9005-0294-9016, Offensive STORM, 4-8 Aug 95, at Eng page 76
a) fundamental comments:
- success and manner of carrying out planned and given tasks (directions, objectives, outcomes and types of b/d /combat operations);
- exceptional command and control, and conduct in battle (units and individuals);
- losses in manpower and technical equipment (with brief comments);
- type and effect of fire support, POB /anti-tank combat/, intelligence and engineering support of b/d, logistics support and communications system;
- situation and use of newly mobilised and resubordinated units, other comments with regard to the work of superior officers, neighbours, air force support, guidance, logistics support and enemy activities; comments on military discipline, combat morale of units in preparation for and after the b/d.

b) Conclusions and proposals for improvement of the following:
- operations planning system;
- leadership and command;
- operation of infantry, armoured and mechanised, and artillery units;
- coordination of planning and operation of combat arms, support arms and services, POB planning and operation;
- planning and operation of combat operations intelligence support;
- planning and operation of b/d engineering, anti-aircraft, and morale and political support;
- planning and operation of communications system and reporting; commendation of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers with regard to the following aspects of combat: leadership and command of tactical units, work and command at command posts, and directions of operation.

2. The Split ZP assistant commanders and chiefs of combat arms and services shall submit the analyses relevant to their respective combat arm or service.

JI/MA
COMMANDER
Colonel General
Ante GOTOVINA
/signed and stamped/628

i. 11 Aug - 15 Nov 95

(1) During the first weeks of the 11 Aug to 15 Nov 95 time period, the Split MD combat main tasks consist of on mopping up operations (also

627 ERN BCS 0279-9100-0279-9101; ERN Eng ET 0279-9100-0279-9101, Order Nr 1080-01-95-370, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 10 Aug 95 (Same document at ERN BCS 0279-9118-0279-9119)
628 ERN BCS 0279-9100-0279-9101; ERN Eng ET 0279-9100-0279-9101, Order Nr 1080-01-95-370, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 10 Aug 95 (Same document at ERN BCS 0279-9118-0279-9119)
described as active defence in Split MD Orders).\textsuperscript{629}

(2) There are no combat operations during the night of 10/11 Aug 95.\textsuperscript{630}

(3) Ante GOTOVINA on 11 Aug 95 visits injured Split MD members at the Zadar military hospital.\textsuperscript{631} Also on 11 Aug 95, GOTOVINA through the Order Nr 1080-01-95-69, orders the establishment of clearing teams at the level of the Split MD, for Novigrad; Gračac; Biograd; Zadar; Knin; Šibenik; and Sinj. These teams include, among others, engineers; forensic technicians and operatives; explosives experts; persons for clearing up human bodies; etc. The manpower for the Knin team will be provided by the 4\textsuperscript{th} Guards Brigade. GOTOVINA in his order Nr 1080-01-95-69 instructs that the clearing up of the battlefield should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Republic of Croatia Health Administration and "the laws of international conflict". Priority should be given to the removal of human bodies.\textsuperscript{632}

(4) On the same day, 11 Aug 95. Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, in line with his 09 Aug 95 Order Nr 1080-01-95-363, orders the disbanding of the four OGs (NORTH, SINJ, ŠIBENIK and ZADAR) by 12 Aug 1200 Hr, and the establishment of a Forward Command Post of the Split MD in


\textsuperscript{630} ERN BCS 0352-6965-0352-6966; ERN Eng ET 0352-6965-0352-6966, Morning Operations Report, Nr 1080-01-95-240, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 11 Aug 95

\textsuperscript{631} ERN BCS 0604-5505-0604-5506; ERN Eng ET 0604-5505-0604-5506, Report Nr 1080-03-95-487, Information, Captain Mario TOMASOVIĆ, Acting Assistant Commander for Political Affairs Split MD Command, 11 Aug 95

\textsuperscript{632} ERN BCS 0606-4113-0606-4116; ERN Eng ET 0606-4113-0606-4116, Order Nr 1080-01-95-69, Colonel General Ante GOTOVINA, Commander of the Split MD, 11 Aug 95
that was used.\textsuperscript{793}

(5) Split MD Artillery units keep lists of targets which include for each target, a description, the grid reference and the type of weapon that is to be used to engage the target.\textsuperscript{794}

List of targets

TRS-2 /Artillery rocket group/ – OG /Operations group/ Šibenik

"Potop" /The Flood/

PP /firing position/ - - Ključ, T-130 mm /gun/..................AzOP – 5-00

PP - Ključ, H-203 mm /howitzer/..........................AzOP – 7-00

PP - Dugeči, H-155 mm........................................AzOP – 59-00

PP - Miljkovići, ..................................................AzOP – 59-00

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target No.</th>
<th>Target coordinates</th>
<th>Description of the target</th>
<th>Who can shoot the target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>57225</td>
<td>93440</td>
<td>Rail and road intersection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>57450</td>
<td>00350</td>
<td>North of t.t. /trig. point/ - 384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>57550</td>
<td>93550</td>
<td>Bridge in Drmiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>81750</td>
<td>90500</td>
<td>Railway station – Pazane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List of targets

142 d.p. /Home Guard Regiment/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal Number</th>
<th>Description of target (point)</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>Secret code</th>
<th>Who can shoot the target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>MUDRINČI VILLAGE K.elevation/ 252</td>
<td>67220</td>
<td>81800</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>C-64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>T.T. /trig. point/ 251</td>
<td>64750</td>
<td>81480</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>C-65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>K. 254</td>
<td>63820</td>
<td>82720</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>C-66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{793} ERM BCS 0611-0836-0611-0838; ERM Eng 0611-0836-0611-0838 ET, \textit{Regular Report at 2000 Hr., Nr 3334/4-01-95-2, Captain Bruno MILIN, Commander TS-4, 04 Aug 95; ERM BCS 0611-0843-0611-0844; ERM Eng 0611-0843-0611-0844 ET, Regular Report at 1600 Hr., Nr 3334/4-01-95-3, Captain Bruno MILIN, Commander TS-4, 05 Aug 95; ERM BCS 0611-0839-0611-0842; ERM Eng 0611-0839-0611-0842 ET, Regular Report at 1600 Hr., Nr 3334/4-01-95-3/1, Captain Bruno MILIN, Commander TS-4, 05 Aug 95; ERM BCS 0611-0845-0611-0847; ERM Eng 0611-0845-0611-0847 ET, Regular Report at 1600 Hr., Nr 3334/4-01-95-4, Captain Bruno MILIN, Commander TS-4, 06 Aug 95

\textsuperscript{794} ERM BCS 0609-7905-0609-7909; ERM Eng ET 0609-7905-0609-7909, \textit{List of Targets, TRS-2 OG ŠIBENIK, undated

\textsuperscript{795} ERM BCS 0609-7905-0609-7909; ERM Eng ET 0609-7905-0609-7909, \textit{List of Targets, TRS-2 OG ŠIBENIK, undated

Page 187
Some of these targets are identified as "hamlet" and "the village of...".\textsuperscript{796}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>00:30 hrs</th>
<th>TRS / Artillery Rocket Company shall work over the following positions, using several pieces of ammo per target:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>06/08/1995</td>
<td>R 28 (Basina crossroad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R 37 (Durani crossroad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N 16 (Vunduci crossroad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N 1 (Cupkovici hamlet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N 28 (the village of Prabadic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) There is at least one example of a Split MD unit, the 134\textsuperscript{th} Home Guard Regiment, using artillery without being able to observe the effect of the fire support that is being provided. The way the report is worded suggests the indiscriminate shelling by forces of OGL Zadar of Benkovac during the first stages of Operation "STORM (OLUJA)".\textsuperscript{799}

Corrections by the means of artillery support were done in good time.

- In the first few hours we had no support from the Zadar OGL /Operative Group/ except for shelling of the general area of Benkovac without monitoring, and the message at 05:30 hrs of the following contents: "Is anything falling on Benkovac?"\textsuperscript{800}

(7) The Daily intelligence report Nr 2134-32-95-218 by the Command of the artillery and rocket battalion of the 112\textsuperscript{th} HV Brigade, dated 05 Aug 95, indicates that the observation and monitoring of the enemy is hindered by

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\textsuperscript{796} ERN BCS 0609-7910-0609-7915; ERN Eng ET 0609-7910-0609-7915, List of Targets, 142\textsuperscript{th} Home Guard Regiment, undated; See also ERN BCS 0610-1215-0610-1216; ERN Eng ET 0610-1215-0610-1216, List of targets, 113\textsuperscript{th} Brigade, undated
\textsuperscript{797} See for example ERN BCS 0609-8768-0609-8969; ERN Eng ET 0609-8869-0609-8925, Operative Logbook of the 4\textsuperscript{th} Guards Brigade Operations Centre, Aug 95, entry for 06 Aug 0030 Hr
\textsuperscript{798} ERN BCS 0609-8768-0609-8969; ERN Eng ET 0609-8869-0609-8925, Operative Logbook of the 4\textsuperscript{th} Guards Brigade Operations Centre, Aug 95, entry for 06 Aug 0030 Hr
\textsuperscript{799} ERN BCS 0609-7506-0609-7510; ERN Eng ET 0609-7506-0609-7510, General Report on carrying out a combat task, Nr 8286-01-95-75, Major Josip ĆERINA, Commander of the 134\textsuperscript{th} Home Guard Regiment, 23 Aug 95
\textsuperscript{800} ERN BCS 0609-7506-0609-7510; ERN Eng ET 0609-7506-0609-7510, General Report on carrying out a combat task, Nr 8286-01-95-75, Major Josip ĆERINA, Commander of the 134\textsuperscript{th} Home Guard Regiment, 23 Aug 95
haze.\textsuperscript{801} The Daily intelligence report Nr 2134-32-95-219 by the Command of the artillery and rocket battalion of the 112\textsuperscript{th} HV Brigade, dated 06 Aug 95 notes that all TRD are monitoring the enemy from observation posts.\textsuperscript{802}

(8) According to Captain Milan PERIN, Chief of Artillery of OG ŠIBENIK, "All artillery units, including support and anti-armour units successfully carried out their planned and assigned missions",\textsuperscript{803} during Operation "STORM (OLUJA)".

(9) The wording of an entry in the 4\textsuperscript{th} Guards Brigade Operative Logbook for 07 Aug 95 describing the use of artillery against an SVK column in the Petrovac - Grahovo area, suggests that at least some of the 4\textsuperscript{th} Guards Brigade personnel are eager to settle scores with the enemy.\textsuperscript{804}

\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
From 12:05 to 12:10 our artillery was hitting the column pulling out from Petrovac to Grahovo; the score is excellent: The Chetniks have many dead and wounded; they were ordered to put away heavy artillery pieces and to pull out the dead and wounded; "Papiga" reports /signed, signature illegible/ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

(10) An (undated) after action report by the 15\textsuperscript{th} Home Guard Regiment mentions that all firing positions and observation posts have wire and radio communications with each other and with the Regiment's Command Post, and have access to targeting data.\textsuperscript{806}

All the firing positions and observation posts had wire and radio (simplex) communication with the superior officer, who had the same communication with the IZM /forward command post/ communications centre, that is, the 15\textsuperscript{th} d.p. Command, which worked flawlessly.

\textsuperscript{801} ERN BCS 0609-3367-0609-3368; ERN Eng ET 0609-3367-0609-3368, TRD Daily Operations Report dated 05 Aug 95, Nr 2134-32-95-218, Major Josip ŽGELA, 05 Aug 95
\textsuperscript{802} ERN BCS 0609-3369-0609-3370, ERN Eng ET 0609-3369-0609-3370, TRD Daily Operations Report dated 06 Aug 95, Nr 2134-32-95-219, Major Josip ŽGELA, 05 Aug 95
\textsuperscript{803} ERN BCS 0611-1062-0611-1063; ERN Eng ET 0611-1062-0611-1063, Division of combat operations, Captain Milan PERIN, Chief of Artillery of OG ŠIBENIK 11 Aug 95
\textsuperscript{804} ERN BCS 0609-8768-0609-8969, ERN Eng ET 0609-8869-0609-8925, Operative Logbook of the 4\textsuperscript{th} Guards Brigade Operations Centre, Aug 95, entry for 07 Aug 1110 Hr
\textsuperscript{805} ERN BCS 0609-8768-0609-8969; ERN Eng ET 0609-8869-0609-8925, Operative Logbook of the 4\textsuperscript{th} Guards Brigade Operations Centre, Aug 95, entry for 07 Aug 1110 Hr
\textsuperscript{806} ERN BCS 0609-8319-0609-8322; ERN Eng ET 0609-8319-0609-8322, Senior Lieutenant Grgo FRIGANOVIC, Commander of the Artillery and Rocket Battalion 15\textsuperscript{th} Home Guard Regiment, undated
ANNEX 65

Commission of the European Communities
Croatia 2009 Progress Report,
Brussels, 14.10.2009
SFC(2009) 1333

COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT

CROATIA 2009 PROGRESS REPORT

accompanying the

COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION
TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL

Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009-2010

{COM(2009) 533}
With regard to the **Serb minority**, there have been fewer reports of ethnically motivated attacks. Police investigations of such incidents have improved, although few cases end in prosecution. Many cases remain unreported due to a lack of confidence in the authorities and the occurrence of negative sentiment in the wider public towards Serbs. Members of the Serb minority, including those who remained in Croatia during the war, face difficulties concerning access to employment, especially in the war-affected areas. Discrimination continues, particularly in the public sector at the local level. Croatia needs to encourage a spirit of tolerance towards the Serb minority and take appropriate measures to protect those who may still be subject to threats or acts of discrimination, hostility or violence.

There has been some progress on the various outstanding issues regarding **refugees**.

Around 1,345 refugees and 380 displaced persons returned to their place of origin in Croatia in 2008-2009. The total number of Serb minority returns to Croatia now stands at 108,466 in addition to 23,231 internally displaced Serbs who have returned to their home towns and villages. There has been progress in providing housing solutions to returning refugees. The programme to reconnect public infrastructure in certain return villages and mine clearance operations have continued. Despite significant progress in recent years in the area of return and (re)integration in the signatory countries of the Sarajevo Declaration, a total of some 80,000 Croatian Serbs are still registered as refugees in the region, the vast majority in Serbia.

A number of obstacles to sustainable return of Serb refugees remain, the main one being housing, particularly for former tenancy rights holders. Implementation of the Croatian government’s housing care programmes (HCP) within and outside the Areas of Special State Concern (ASSC) for former tenancy rights holders who wish to return to Croatia has progressed well over the past year but is lagging behind the planned timetable. Definitively settling all cases in this area is a key Accession Partnership priority.

In total, as of September 2009, 13,695 HCP applications had been filed. Out of this number 8,888 had been positively decided, of which 6,198 cases had received housing assistance. 2,567 cases were decided negatively, resulting in some 686 appeals. 2,249 cases were not yet completed.

In terms of government planning for the allocation of apartments under the HCP, implementation of the self-imposed benchmark for 2007 (allocating 1,400 housing units) has been met. As for the 2008 benchmark (an additional 1,400 housing units) good progress has been made, with more than three quarters of cases having been finally resolved. In addition, many cases have been transferred to reconstruction schemes, with contracts for organised reconstruction signed. Though implementation is not yet complete. The government has reduced its objective for 2009 from 2,496 to 2,100 housing units, due in part to postponed or cancelled applications. Implementation is at an early stage. In addition to the pending cases from the 2008 and 2009 benchmarks, is estimated that anywhere up to 2,000 housing units will need to be provided in 2010 and possibly beyond to returning refugee families under the HCP. Figures will, however, depend on the results of processing the 2-3,000 pending requests and appeals, on the number of new applications and on the number of cases to be transferred from the reconstruction scheme to the housing care programme. Croatia should ensure that budget cuts necessary in the context of the economic crisis do not weigh negatively on refugee return issues.

Reconstruction of housing has continued. However, around 8,000 appeals are still pending, most of which for more than four years. Property repossession is largely complete. There has been progress in returning previously occupied agricultural land plots to the pre-war possessors and rightful owners.
Apart from housing, other key concerns facing returnees are employment, enduring hostility in certain localities and ‘consolidation’, or the validation of working years for the purpose of pension rights, of those residing in the parts of Croatia not under Croatian government control during the 1990s. Lodged claims for consolidation amount to 17,586. Of this number, 9,610 have been processed, with 52% receiving a positive decision. The decision to revise all negative decisions in an internal audit is a positive development; nevertheless, measures aimed at ensuring a more uniform and fair application process notably at the first instance level should continue.

Good progress has been made as regards inclusion of the Roma minority, building upon the willingness of Croatia to address the problems of this group. It has launched a number of infrastructure programmes with EU financial support in Roma settlements. There has been progress as regards enrolment of Roma children in pre-school as well as primary and secondary education. Funding for Roma projects is also increasing. Some special language classes which resulted in de facto segregation of Roma children have been integrated into mainstream programmes.

However, most Roma remain excluded from mainstream Croatian society and face difficult living conditions. Unemployment remains endemic. Measures with regard to education need to be integrated into more systematic policies. Progress on successful completion of primary and secondary education is relatively modest so far. Problems persist also in terms of access to employment, adequate housing, social protection and healthcare, and in general attitudes in society, where discriminatory viewpoints prevail. Coordination among Roma groups is limited as is their expertise for effective implementation, and should be strengthened. The lack of personal documents and/or civil registration continues to hinder the integration of Roma into existing communities and their access to employment, health and other rights. Problems remain regarding the participation of the Roma community in the education system, even when specific programmes are available.

Overall, the position of minorities in Croatia continues to improve. However, many problems remain for the Serb and Roma minorities. Some progress on outstanding refugee return issues was made but efforts to provide housing solutions and ensure sustainability of refugee return need to be accelerated.

(See also Chapter 23 — Judiciary and fundamental rights)

2.3. Regional issues and international obligations

Compliance with the Dayton/Paris and Erdut Peace Agreements has overall been ensured.

Croatia continues to cooperate with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). This is a key Accession Partnership priority. However, problems of access for ICTY to important documents in Croatia continue to exist. These documents are required in the ongoing ICTY trial against generals Gotovina, Ceramk and Markac. Subsequent to an order of the Trial Chamber of September 2008, Croatia was required to provide a detailed report specifying the efforts undertaken to obtain the requested documents. However, in his June address to the Security Council, the ICTY Chief Prosecutor stated that progress in Croatia's investigation into the fate of the missing documents had been limited and that the large majority of the military documents sought had not been submitted to the Tribunal. In the same month, Croatia submitted a motion requesting the Trial Chamber to decide whether Croatia had complied with its order of September 2008. Croatia needs to ensure all necessary steps are taken to settle this issue.

There has been improved cooperation regarding the exchange of evidence and the transfer of some war crimes cases between the prosecutors from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. Obstacles to the extradition of suspects in cases of war crimes and crimes against humanity between